MEMOIR

LEFT BY

GUSTAAF WILLEM BARON VAN IMHOFF,

GOVERNOR AND DIRECTOR OF CEYLON,

TO HIS SUCCESSOR,

WILLEM MAURITS BRUYNINK,

1740.

Translated by SOPHIA PIETERS,
Dutch Translator.

With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist.

COLOMBO:
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INTRODUCTION.

Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff was Governor of Ceylon from July 2, 1736, to March 12, 1740. This Memoir is the record of what he had contributed to advance the interests of the Dutch East India Company in the Island, and to improve the condition of the people under its dominion. This is the first time the document has been translated into English in its entirety. An abstract or translation of the Memoir, in a condensed form, appeared as an Appendix to Mr. George Lee's translation of *Ribeyro's Ceylon*, and was, I believe, the source from which many subsequent writers obtained information on various points relating to the Dutch administration. The Memoir in its present complete form throws much light on the policy of the Dutch, and will, I think, furnish sufficient proof of the fact that they were not always, or entirely, guided by mercenary objects, a charge which is often brought against them by prejudiced writers with superficial knowledge. It will be found that under the rule of large-minded and enlightened Governors of the stamp of Van Imhoff the interests of the country and its people were constantly kept in mind.

Governor van Imhoff, as may be seen from the title he bore, was of noble family. He belonged to a younger branch of the ancient family of this name, which is still an honoured one in the Netherlands. He was born on August 8, 1705, at Leer on the Emms, and was the son of Willem Hendrik Baron van Imhoff, *Geheimraad*, or Privy Councillor, of the Prince of East Friesland, and Sheriff of Leer and Leeroort. His mother was Isabella Sophia Boreel, of a family well known in the early history of the Dutch in Ceylon,* and still represented in Holland. One branch of this family received the honour of Knighthood from King James I. of England, and was afterwards raised to

* *Vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, Vol. XVII., p. 386.

the Baronetage by Charles I. The present baronet, a subject and native of Holland, is Sir Jacobus Boreel. Governor van Imhoff came out to Batavia in 1725 as *Onder-koopman*, was promoted *Koopman* the following year, and appointed Chief of the Pay Office. In three years he became *Opper-koopman*, and three years after that took his seat in the Council of India as Councillor Extraordinary. In 1736 he was appointed Governor and Director of Ceylon, and the same year advanced to a Councillor in Ordinary. His nomination in 1740 by the Chamber of XVII. to the Governor-Generalship appears to have been the cause of a great deal of rancour between Valckenier, the ex Governor-General, and himself. At the instance of the former, Baron van Imhoff was sent in arrest to Holland. and during his residence there presented the Directors of the East India Company with his "*Considerations over the present state of the Netherlands East India Company,*" a work which was subsequently printed and published. As a consequence of this Van Imhoff returned to Batavia as Governor-General in 1743. He died at Batavia on November 1, 1750, and was buried there on November 5. He was married in 1734 to Catharina Magdalena Huysman, by whom he had an only child, Jacob Willem Balthasar Baron van Imhoff, who died in Colombo, one year old, and is buried in Wolvendaal Church. Over his grave is a tombstone with a Latin inscription and embellished with beautiful designs of the family quarterings. The *seize quartiers* represent the arms of the following families :—Van Imhoff, Huysman, Boreel, Pelgrom, Van Levetzow, Hastelei, Coymans, Pigeou, Van Imhoff, Waegberge, Carels, Everson, Van Levetzow, Emongher, Trip, and Hebert. Governor van Imhoff left three other children, by Helena Pieters, to whom he does not appear to have been married. These children were subsequently legitimized and given the rank they would have had if they had been born in wedlock.

R. G. ANTHONISZ,

Colombo, December 22, 1910. *Government Archivist.*

MEMOIR

For the Guidance and Instruction of His Excellency Willem Maurits Bruynink, Governor elect of the Island of Ceylon, compiled by his predecessor, the Extraordinary Councillor Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff, the departing Governor of the same Island, on the orders of Their Excellencies at Batavia, as contained in their letter of August 7, 1739, and to be followed until it please the said Supreme Government of India to direct otherwise.

Sir,—The Government which I here resign to you is no less an extensive than an important one. It covers a considerable area of the territorial possessions of the Dutch in the East, and perhaps among all these there are few of the same consideration, either in India or in Europe.

On the first of the points one may be easily convinced by a glance at the ordinary geographical maps, but the latter point cannot be so easily comprehended, but requires a close study to enable one to judge of it upon a sound basis.

It is true that the mere mention of the name Ceylon is sufficient to convince, not only a Dutchman, but even a foreigner, that the possession of such a valuable island, and consequently also the administration of such a possession, are of the greatest importance.

But this idea is based rather upon its large extent, its advantageous situation, and its comparison with other similar territories than upon the intrinsic value of this possession. Its advantages are indeed more of a geographical and political nature, if the cinnamon be excluded ; but if this spice be taken into consideration the scale turns at once, and no comparison with other lands is possible, because, for so far as is known, cinnamon is found nowhere of such good quality as in Ceylon.

Cinnamon, although the most important of the products, must indeed be excluded from consideration when speaking

of the importance of this Government as far as the Company is concerned.

Because, if it consisted only in this, there would be some justification for the opinion of those who say, either through animosity or ignorance, that more fuss is made of this Government than necessary, however important this product alone might be for the Dutch Company, and however important it has proved to be.

In point of fact the value of Ceylon to the Company does not lie with cinnamon only; its interest extends much further.

Nature has constituted this island by its peculiar situation to be the key of the western part of India. Energy and labour on the part of the people may make this Colony, so favoured by nature, one of the most profitable and important of the Company's extensive establishments in India. In order to comprehend this fully, it is necessary to understand the interests of the Company in this country.

From olden times cinnamon has been the chief and perhaps the only article for which Ceylon was sought. This valuable spice had for hundreds, yea, thousands of years been transported with much difficulty along the main land of India to all the various inhabited countries; and it is no wonder that the Portuguese in their travels through India conceived the plan of possessing themselves of it.

They landed in Ceylon, and spread themselves over it with such formidable power that the original possessor was left with but the appearance only of his former authority.

Having, however, hoisted their sail too high, the mast of their authority was bound to break at last. The king got tired of them, and the country wished as it were to spew them out; Heaven itself appeared to be arrayed against them for all the cruelty and wickedness committed by them in return for all the riches they had obtained from this Colony, and visited them with punishment and affliction.

In these circumstances the dejected king of this country heard the rumour of a new sun rising in the east. He sought the fire under the ashes, and, after some fruitless negotiations, at length obtained the help of the Dutch Company just then formed. They promised him their assistance, and as he was carrying on a war against his tyrants, they joined their interest against the common foe.

The fire was now laid very close on all sides up to the feet of the Portuguese; victory after victory was gained over them; every defeat was a visible step in the direction of their complete ruin and their removal from the island. This was at last accomplished by the capture of Jaffnapatam in the year 1658.

This was the beginning of the establishment of the Dutch Company in this land. I mention the subject only briefly, because I do not intend to enter into the whole history of these events, which would require a book by itself. It cannot be treated of in the narrow limits of this document, where so many subjects have to be dealt with.

I would much rather return to the subject of the interests of the Company; as that is the purpose of this Paper, which is far more important than a historical description of the first settlement here.

The latter may be found if required in various documents and printed books. Among the former may be mentioned the Instructions compiled by His Excellency Governor Maetsuyker for his successor His Excellency van Kittensteyn, dated February 27, 1650, often quoted in other Memoirs. Among the writers whose works appeared in print, but who often departed from the truth, is Mr. Valentyn, who wrote very prejudicially to the Company in his well-known work "*The Old and New East Indies*."* All knowledge obtained from books, although also necessary, cannot but be superficial.

It is essential to know the chief points of interest to the Company in this valuable island, and these cannot be learnt from such poor sources, but require a clear insight and personal experience, as well as the setting aside of private interests. I do not claim to have attained perfection of knowledge on these subjects, but having always tried to qualify myself to be able to speak where the interests of the Dutch Company are concerned, and having administered this Government for four years, and thus learnt all that may be said on this side or that, I ask to be allowed, on this my resignation of the administration, to mention to you in the form of a Memoir, as required by the special orders of the Supreme Government of India, all that has transpired during my rule, with comments on the chief points of interest in the service of the Company. I claim to do this especially because, during the whole period of my rule, I made these points my chief care, and even now have not lost my interest in them.

This order of Their Excellencies, founded on a praiseworthy practice in the interests of the Company, did not surprise me very much, but yet it perplexed me more or less, not so much with regard to the matter itself as to the manner in which I was to execute it to the general satisfaction, including my own, because so much has been written already on the subject.

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* *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, by François Valentyn, was published at Amsterdam in 1724 in five folio volumes. The description and historical account of Ceylon appear in the fifth volume.

The latest among documents of this kind relating to the Government of Ceylon is the Memoir compiled by Governor Henrik Becker for his successor Governor Rumpf, bearing date November 25, 1716, the ruler who followed him having been prevented from taking up this work by death and misadventure, and the Memoir of His Excellency the Commissioner Pielat for His late Excellency Governor van Domburgh,* of January 23, 1734, being a special work which cannot be included in this category.

Among the other Memoirs, many of which have been lost, either by the ravages of time or by carelessness, are those of Governor Simons of December 16, 1707, for his successor Governor Becker; that by Governor Thomas van Rhee for Governor Gerrit de Heere, the predecessor of the said Governor Simons, bearing date February 25, 1697; and that of Governor Pyl, the predecessor of Governor van Rhee, dated January 28, 1692. Of a much older date are the Instructions or Memoir of His Excellency van Goens to his son and successor in the Government dated April 12, 1675; and another, also by His Excellency van Goens, senior, on his return to Batavia for the first time, for His Excellency Hustaart, bearing date December 26, 1663. On this is founded the Instructions by His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India of September 25, 1669, when His Excellency returned as Commissioner for the Investigation of Affairs, and set on a proper footing the establishment in Mallabaar, after which he came here as permanent Governor. Many other Memoirs have been written and lost between the two dates mentioned—1650 and 1663.

In all these documents the internal arrangements and external position of Ceylon have been explained, each ruler pointing out what part of the large establishment he had helped to build up, and towards what part thereof he thinks his successor ought to direct his attention. But in the treatment of their subject the writers wrote down just what came to their mind, and each reasoned according to his own ideas. Some of these men were of great pre-eminence in the State. As in all matters concerning worldly affairs, here also the proverb holds good, "*Quod capita tot sensus*," many heads, many minds. On account of the many discrepancies in the various Memoirs, which may be divided into two classes, a Resolution was passed in the Council of India in the year 1681, and again in 1696, to revise all the Instructions.

The Memoirs before that time are all in agreement with the principles laid down by Their Excellencies the two Van Goens,

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* This has been translated into English, and copies are to be had at the Government Record Office, Colombo.

father and son, who were of opinion that Ceylon should be subdued by the Company by force of arms; so that the Company might enjoy its advantages, even in spite of the king of the country, and they gave some very good reasons for their advice.

But the later documents are in quite a different spirit. There kindness is advocated, with a view to gain the affection and goodwill of the natives. Expenses are to be cut down as much as possible, in order to make ends meet. As the result of this the Company lost much good and profitable territory.

A third period may be said to have commenced with the rule of His Excellency Governor Becker. This will be seen from the beginning of his Memoir cited above, as I think I properly pointed out when referring to the Kandyan matters in my special letter to Batavia in 1736. Considering then that this ship of State has been since sailing in another course, both as regards the king and the Company's subjects, and has been in danger owing to the ignorance and selfishness of its officers, it is apparent that such a state of things could not last much longer in the present difficult circumstances of the Company. At this stage I arrived here about three years ago.

If my principles of government, so different from those of that time, are found to be better, a fourth period may be said to commence with my arrival in this country, which God grant may long continue; because I imagine that it will be beneficial both to the Company and to the inhabitants.

But as it is fair to suppose that others have had the same good opinion of their plans and perhaps also of their mode of government, since no one could be presumed to act in a manner which he imagines to be opposed to the interests entrusted to him; as, for instance, a doctor could not be supposed to administer to a patient anything which he would object to take himself, it follows that no one would reasonably suspect others of doing what he would himself not do if his opinion were founded on a sound basis.

This is what I intend to treat of in this Memoir as the subject of greatest interest to the Company in this valuable island. Some have taken the trouble to write longer or shorter accounts of all their own actions and of all the events that had taken place during the period of their government, as a guide for their successors; others again have explained at length the routine of business in this extensive Government, although this is a matter that cannot be satisfactorily set down for the guidance of a successor. Some have accomplished their work with great accuracy; others again have done so without any method, merely mentioning such things as came to their minds. One would speak more at length of the trade, another of the

administration of justice, another again would treat of the general economy.

In the choice of my subject I would prefer to treat of those matters which relate to the various interests of the Company, and would attempt to give Your Excellency a general idea of them; while at a later stage I would attempt to prove and explain my statements. Even if I should only partly succeed in this attempt, I think this should be the purpose of compilations such as this; and this course would at least give me, and perhaps also Your Excellency, and Their Excellencies our superiors, both in the Netherlands and in Batavia, the greatest satisfaction. I pray and trust that God's blessing, on which the success of all human undertakings depends, may continue to rest on the work of the Dutch Company in this country after my departure, and that He will direct its affairs to its best advantage, just in the same manner as He did when I ruled here—a favour for which I cannot thank the Lord sufficiently. I consider that to Him alone is due all the honour, that He is the giver of all good, through whose grace all kings, princes, and other worldly potentates rule, and that they have to look to Him for success in their undertakings, and give to Him an account of all their actions. I therefore pray not only that Your Excellency may have sufficient strength of body and mind to support you in this heavy responsibility, but also, and especially, that you may be filled with the spirit of the Holy Ghost, which is the highest wisdom, and without which man would be too weak to bear such a burden, since we are each of us aware of our own failings. I therefore hope that this country may further prosper under Your Excellency's wise direction, to the advantage of the Company in this Colony, and to the satisfaction of yourself and all of us.

The interests of the Company which form the subject of this treatise consist, as I understand it, in the right of exclusive occupation and in the peaceful possession of such territory as is necessary for obtaining the profits which the country yields, and under suitable administration; so that there may be a surplus and no deficit in these profits.

I make a distinction between the possession of and the occupation of this island, because the Company is not settled all along the coast, and exclusive right of abode is of greater importance than possession, because the latter would be of little value if other nations were to settle in our neighbourhood.

This exclusive occupation of the Island of Ceylon is beyond doubt of the utmost importance to the Company, and it is one of the chief reasons why Ceylon is of so much value to the Company. The former is indisputable, even if it were for the sake of the cinnamon only; the latter may be seen clearly

upon a glance at the neighbouring coasts westward and eastward of the peninsula between the Indus and the Ganges.

For whatever is expended on a land that is opened to every one will inure to our exclusive profit only for a short time. It would be like planting fruit trees along the public road, from which the fruit may with much care be obtained for a time, but the ownership of which is lost in the course of time. If, on the other hand, the trees are planted in an enclosed garden, one may always count upon the fruit.

Considering that the Company possesses no land on the west of India which is not occupied by others as well, or may not be occupied by others in future, who may thus avail themselves of the products of the country, in spite even of the castles, forts, and garrisons in Mallabaar, and that Ceylon is favoured by nature in so far that it may be easily protected with a view to reserve its advantages to the Company only, there is no doubt that on this account alone this island is a possession of great value, and the exclusive right of abode is one of the chief points on which the interest of the Company depends.

It is not necessary here to enter into detail to inquire into the right we have to do so. This subject has been dealt with in the previous Memoirs and other documents. Among these I consider that of Governor Simons to be of the greatest value, and I agree with the sentiment expressed therein, that the great number of years during which we have been in exclusive possession gives us the right to maintain our right, if necessary even by force. Since the writing of that document another third of a century has passed, and no Power has considered it proper to dispute the Company's rights. If, therefore, this should ever happen in future, it will be better to defend it with the sword than with the pen. This appears to be the opinion of Their Excellencies the Directors in the Netherlands, if we are to judge from their Instructions with regard to Ceylon, which they look upon as a costly jewel of the east; as, for instance, in the private letter of June 5, 1732, to the General and Council. I thank Heaven no strong measures were necessary during my rule here, notwithstanding the uncertain state of affairs both in Europe and the West Indies owing to rivalry among the Powers; and although there was a rumour of an invasion by the French, with a view to possessing themselves of a harbour on the opposite coast, no such attempt was made, and no more was heard about the matter; but I admit that if it had happened I would not have hesitated as to what I had to do; and I think that there should be no consideration as to the consequences in Europe, no hesitation in endeavouring to understand ambiguous orders, no waiting for further instructions, no excuse of want of authority, but that every

foot of ground next to us should be disputed with whoever makes an attempt to obtain it, so that no others may follow in their wake. This is also the reason that I made so much of the movements of the Moors on the opposite coast, as may be seen in the ordinary and private Resolutions of August 8, 1737, July 23 and December 12, 1739, to which I would draw attention, the more so because in these and in the annexed Considerations, and the private letter of August 9, 1737, to Tuticorin, is stated more at length what rights we have on the opposite coast in accordance with the contracts entered into with the *Naik* of Madura and the *Theuver* or king of the Marrua territory, at least so far as relates to the admission of others besides ourselves. In other respects it is a matter of indifference whether we have any agreements or not with these perfidious nations, because they never fulfil any obligations unless they are forced to do so.

But to return to the subject of our exclusive occupation of this island, which is at present the most important point. Although our possession of the opposite coast, at least as far as the bay of Tondy, is our best security and protection for this purpose, and must therefore not be disregarded, it must be stated here in a few words how far this would depend upon the king of this country, not as regards his power, but as regards his right to call in others besides ourselves if he should be inclined to do so. Of the fact that he is so we may be well assured, so that we may not be suddenly alarmed, as perhaps was the case before this ; as, for instance, on my arrival here, although I did not take much notice of it, having heard of this widespread scare, and I wrote to that effect in my special letter of December 26, 1736, to the Supreme Government of India.

In order to define satisfactorily what right the king would have to admit others besides ourselves, it would be necessary to enter into a discussion which would be beyond the limits of this document ; and even if I did so, the success of my argument would be doubtful, as there are always two sides to all political questions which are disputed on both sides, just as in the case of battles where both parties claim the victory. Such a discussion is neither easy nor desirable, as it is more a question of *possessorium* or the keeping what has been obtained than of *petitorium* or the inquiry as to whom it rightly belongs. The former, then, is the most convenient position to maintain, and I therefore advise Your Excellency also to hold to this, rather than trouble yourself about the second point, although even from that standpoint the position of the Company is not a bad one, and could, if necessary, be very well defended by argument, even if we only relied on the

ownership of the coast line, which was tacitly admitted on various occasions by the Kandyan Court.* Our rights have been legalized by the undisputed exercise of them by the Company's possession of the West and East, and this will serve also as proof of the proprietorship of other parts, so far as it concerns a third party, although the king is and remains the sovereign. Our voluntary restoration of that part of the coast which was formerly in the possession of the Company may likewise serve as evidence that we were as well content with the part we had as if we possessed the whole, for the putting up of the marks of the owner in the corner of a land does not denote that he owns only that corner, but the whole field. Besides, it is on account of our exclusive occupation that we send our yearly gifts to the king and give ourselves so much trouble to keep on good terms with him. This is also constantly acknowledged by this people in the boastful expressions which it is their custom to use; as, for instance: "That the Dutch nation has been called in by the king to live here, as being the most faithful to him, and that the king on his golden throne will rule and favour his own mighty subjects as well as the Dutch without any distinction," &c., with many arguments, too many to quote here, and which Your Excellency will yourself hear in your intercourse with these people. It would be best not to listen to any reports of covert insults as will be carried from the Court of Coromandel, which are often spread by the people there with a view of obtaining some profit for themselves. Such an instance occurred in my experience in the year 1738, when a Moorish priest from up-country came with such a story, after begging three months long for a private audience, which I gave to him on my return from Jaffnapatam, and he expected to be greatly rewarded for doing so. He was mistaken, however, for my only answer was that what he communicated might be possible, but that the king would soon find out how valuable our assistance is to him; and I assured the man that we know the map of the country as well as he and the king's ministers, and that such news as he brought was not worth the trouble he had given himself. This occurrence I mention here only as an example, and I did not consider it worth mentioning in any of the documents.

But as we require, besides the right of exclusive occupation, the peaceful possession also of those parts of the island which it is necessary to keep in order to obtain the products which are

* It was, however, not till 1766, after the war with king Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, that the undisputed ownership of the entire coast line by the Dutch was recognized by the Kandyan king.

profitable to the Company, it will not be necessary to dwell any longer on the former subject, because the latter depends beyond doubt on the harmony we preserve with the up-country government. It matters little, therefore, what they think about the first point, so long as they are able to do us much good or harm with regard to the second. This is at present the most important point, and that on which the interests of the Company depend.

I would wish to state first of all as an undeniable truth, that peaceful possession is absolutely necessary in the interests of the Company in this country, and that this depends on the harmony we preserve with the Court. I hope that the truth of this statement will be learnt by Your Excellency only from the documents and some of the remarks I have made on the subject in my special letter to Batavia of December 26, 1736, and that it may not be brought home to you by actual experience, just as I have to thank Heaven for the blessing that I did not experience anything adverse during my rule.

I would mention here in a few brief words how this peaceful possession may be preserved in the uncertain and complex constitution of this Government, in which opinions always differ, the basis remaining weak, and, therefore, perhaps so changeable. The Company would, however, seem to desire nothing better, considering the reception given to those who wish to explain the state of affairs, which will have to be looked into sooner or later. This may be concluded, for instance, from the success of my special letter to Their Excellencies our superiors, of January 12, 1737, and the private papers which I will hand to Your Excellency herewith for your information; so that you may, taking this as an example adopt the most convenient, though not the best principle, in the administration of the Company's Government, which is that each should keep it going as best he may, exposing as little as possible of his weaknesses, and putting forth the best possible appearance, until he is with honour relieved in turn of this heavy burden, the weight of which you will best learn by experience.

I cannot give Your Excellency any better advice, as no better was given to me when my Considerations containing alternative propositions for reform were rejected. I know that the opinion of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India does not agree with mine, and, as a matter of course, their suggestions have prevailed over mine with Their Excellencies in the Netherlands, but how far, why, and to what purpose I cannot say. You will, therefore, have to make the best of the matter, and adapt yourself to time and circumstances, sometimes being a little indulgent, at other times

again pretending to a greater strictness, although the latter as little as possible, because these people are very well aware how far Your Excellency can go, and it would not be advisable to expose yourself in this respect.

I am obliged to recommend to Your Excellency, as the best and most desirable, the course which I myself once rejected as prejudicial, namely, the giving of presents, because they are best humoured in that way, although they are not satisfied with very small presents. It involves a good deal of expenditure sometimes to send a present to the king and to the courtiers on behalf of the Company and sometimes on your own account to the latter. The chief ruler has to do this if he will further the interests of the Company. This must be done year after year, until these people see that the interests of the Company are also their own, and how the interests of the king depend on those of the Company, so that the friendship between the up-country and the low-country may no longer be denoted by flattery, which these people resort to a great deal, but rather by deeds. This is a purpose that must not be lost sight of by the person who wishes to administer this Government to the best advantage of the Company.

Because, if the friendship between the Company's subjects in the low-lands and the up-country government is to be measured on our side by the cinnamon, elephants, and areca-nut we obtain, and which are the chief articles of interest to the Company in this country, I sometimes wonder what profit our occupation is to the up-country government, besides the yearly present amounting in value to about Rds. 3,000 which is made to the Court for the permission to peel cinnamon and to transport elephants; while the sale of areca-nuts cannot be of much profit to them, as they receive at the most 5 or 6 *Lareens*,* which is about 8 or 10 *Schellingen*,† for a load, in recompense for a journey which must take them at least four days to come and the same to return. I do not therefore see that there can be much profit in this to the king or his courtiers or to the people themselves. The cinnamon gives them nothing but trouble, and it makes no difference to them whether the Company captures the elephants or not, while the other produce of the country is not so important to them that they on that account would value our friendship so highly.

If, on the other hand, an effort were made to promote a better cultivation of lands—a work which has never been properly

* A coin of Persian origin, much used at that time in India and Ceylon. The name is said to have been derived from the territory of *Lar*, on the Persian Gulf.

† A *schelling* was an old Dutch coin equal to 6d. in English money.

attended to—and if such produce were raised as the cultivator could sell to the Company, and by which the population might be raised out of their great poverty, so that they would be able to dispose of some portion and yet keep something for themselves, then perhaps the Court would see that peace reigned in the country, and their revenue increased by the improvement of agriculture, and they would, in the course of time, learn the advantages they would gain, at no cost to them but the exchange of kindly feeling. They would also see that their own welfare depended on their friendship with the Company, and that they had gained in material prosperity. So, for their own sake, they would endeavour to keep up the friendship on both sides on a better foundation. Yet their capricious nature and deceitful character (as a proverb of their own has it: "Their words must be considered as written on water"), their covetousness, and one might say impudence, in always asking for more, their absolutely despotic government, in which no care is taken whether the subjects are ruined or not; and, lastly, the proneness of the king to give ear to all tale-bearers from the low-country and from the opposite coast—these will always prove great obstacles in the preservation of peace, especially so long as the Court will remain in the belief that we are at their mercy as regards peace, an idea they will not easily give up. It must be admitted that they could destroy the peace at any time they please, even if with a view to annoy and create trouble; but I fervently hope that matters will remain in the state in which I am happy to be able to resign them, and that it will at least be a long time before the present peace is disturbed. For this purpose I know of no better means but those I have pointed out here, namely, the blending of their interests with our own—a project which I have, thanks to God, been able to make a beginning of by the cultivation of pepper and coffee. More pepper than coffee is found up-country, and I have constantly and on every opportunity urged the courtiers to attend to the cultivation of the former, to induce them to see that the cultivation of pepper is of greater value to the king than the imaginary profits to be derived from the free trade in Putulang, which the rabble among the Chalias, roving about in the high lands, promised them, but which they would find in a few years would be worth nothing at all; because the trade in cotton goods, &c., would fall there as it did in other places. Since the despatch in 1737 of the now deceased Dessave of Saffragam, however, I have heard no more about that harbour, perhaps because they no longer intend to press this point with every new ruler who comes to this island, and perhaps because they find and know beforehand that it is useless to raise this question every time.

They pretend that the loss to the Court through the closing of the harbour amounts to some millions of Pagodas, with a view to see what we will do and whether this threat be more effective than the one mentioned before, so that not much notice need be taken thereof. I will also state here in reference to this subject of contention that this harbour is not so completely closed as one might imagine, but that if possible every year a new lock must be placed on it by means of a couple of cruisers, as well as by a sloop to guard the passage from Coederewale to beyond Calpetty, with a view to prevent smuggling, and a few vessels must also guard Adam's Bridge on the south or north, according to the seasons. Without this precaution the so-called closing of the harbours is of no use, and it may be expected that so much linen will be imported into Ceylon within the space of a few months that the Company will have no chance of selling any for a year. This is a truth which cannot be gainsaid by such a question as "What then is the use of the fort Calpentyn?" just as if any one should maintain that Enkhuysen, that is the town only, could prevent the passage to and from Texel—an absurdity which will be evident to those who know the situation of the place. In order to answer this question I will state here that this fort (Calpentyn) is still useful to the Company, as will be explained later on. If for no other purpose it serves to keep up appearances and as a check; while from there small cruisers go to and fro, serving also mostly for appearance; and in this way I have been able to keep this passage fairly free for the last year. Four or five vessels, however, with permitted articles are allowed to pass to and from Coromandel, and the trade in this direction is increasing, as also the import of areca-nut. This is done in accordance with our Considerations on this subject by Resolution of September 19, 1737, which was with some reservation approved by Their Excellencies in their answer of August 12, 1738, and seems to have been fairly successful.

I am wandering away from my subject, viz., the definition of the interests of the Company, and therefore I will leave Putulang alone, and confine myself here to the state of affairs at the Kandyan Court, which are somewhat uncertain at present; as it is not quite certain yet whether the new king* will be able to maintain himself in the sovereignty up-country. I need not enter into details with regard to this matter, as full particulars regarding his descent and succession

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* Sri Wijaya Raja Sinha, who reigned till 1747. His death occurred during the presence at his court of a Dutch embassy, which had gone with a message of congratulation on his marriage. See *Report on the Dutch Records*, p. 92.

to the throne may be found in our letter to Batavia of May 28 last year, and other letters and documents, and the rest will be proved in the course of time, because in the event of His Majesty taking up the sovereignty he has to gird the sword of state, with which he has not been invested yet. This ceremony signifies his confirmation in the sovereignty, and when he, following the example of his predecessors, adopts a new title, he has to inform Your Excellency of the fact, upon which a message of congratulation will have to follow, apart from the yearly embassy which is to be sent at the usual time, viz., about the end of January, provided the present crisis in the change of government does not necessitate any alteration. It is said that if this ceremony is really to be performed it must be done before the Sinhalese New Year, which is in the month of April. In my opinion attention should also be paid to the negotiations for a marriage of the new king, which have been carried on for some months with a high family, on the opposite coast, of the Soeriansa or so-called Sun-caste. This family claims to be the only one of the real Sun-caste, and lives at Kenge Kondain, not far from Atour. So far the negotiations appear to have had no result, as may be concluded from the reports made to the Company's Mallabaar servant Janno Pulle, who had been employed in these negotiations, as may be made out from the ola he had brought with him, in view of what we have been previously informed of by various private letters from the *Opperhoofd* of the Madura coast, Mr. Jan. Busch. More particulars may also be found in the correspondence with the Dessave of the Three and Four Korles, to which I would here refer. The letters from here are dated September 14 and 19 and October 5, and those from the Dessave November 19 and 21, all of which are kept at the Secretariate here.

The said Dessave is at present the most important, and perhaps the most influential person in the Court, but it remains to be seen whether he will continue so long; because, although his character is such that he would be quite capable of maintaining this position, it is possible that just on that account he will make many persons envious and thus perhaps create enemies. One of these latter would probably be the Dessave of Saffragam, Maanpittie, who succeeded the late Chief Government Adigar Dodangwolle in that Dessavony, had been Dessave of Oewe and also of the Four Korles, and before that, Dessave of the Seven Korles, and who, together with the present Dessave of the Three and Four Korles, was considered the most influential at the Court.

These brief remarks concerning matters relating to the Court will suffice, because space does not permit me to say more,

and it is not my purpose to give here a description of the character of the Sinhalese, their form of government, their customs, changes in their government, and their weak or their strong points. I only wish to point out where their interests and those of the Company meet, and how far our peaceful occupation of territory depends on the harmony we maintain with their rulers ; so that the Company may enjoy the products of the country, for which I think I have pointed out here the best means.

As regards the Madura coast, it is clear that here also great advantage may accrue to the Company if we can live in peace with the people and the native government. At present nothing certain can be said on the subject, because the unfortunate country is still suffering from the effects of a ruinous invasion of the Moguls. Their Chief, who is called Bargaretiroemale Naik, is still supported in his hopeless effort to free himself from his sad dependence on the Theuver's people by the people of Madura, who, united together as Gentivos, resist the authority of the Moguls; and they have so far succeeded in their object, aided by the inaccessibility of the country, which is surrounded by a natural parapet of thorny trees. So far they have opposed the Moguls from entering here, but it is to be feared that at the close of the rainy season, towards April, there will be another invasion of the Moguls for want of sufficient resistance.

The final result of this strife may be the subjugation of the young Theuver, who otherwise is the third among the native kings with whom we must keep up friendship in the interest of the Company. There is no need saying anything more about him here, as all details may be found in the papers concerning the trade of the Company in Kilkare, which at present is not very important. In the same documents particulars will also be found with regard to our frontier post, the island Pambe, which I would refer to here.

The king of Trevancoor, with whom we had formerly but little to do, must in the present circumstances be also considered when speaking of our peaceful occupation of territory, because it seems that he intends to disturb it. This has been proved by some occurrences at Cape Commoryn. I think, however, that the worst has passed, our station there having been strengthened. Further particulars may be found in my special letter to Batavia of July 6 last, and also in our correspondence with Mallabaar and Tutucorin with regard to this matter. I do not, therefore, consider it necessary to make any further mention of it here, the more so as special orders are expected in reply to the said Considerations. Still, hostilities have commenced, and his sea-places must be taken

as soon as possible, with which a beginning has already been made.

The king of the Maldives need hardly be mentioned when speaking of the native kings. He receives a yearly present for the preservation of peace, but he cannot do much towards or against our peaceful occupation. He sends yearly a quantity of cowries, which seem to be more in demand in the Fatherland than they used to be. This subject I may probably touch upon again later on. Meantime we must leave this second definition of what is included in the interests of the Company in this country, and turn to that of the peaceful possession, which, together with the exclusive right of occupation, is one of the chief foundations of our stability, as already stated; so that we may have a bird's-eye view of the whole of this Government.

By way of description I have stated here, in general terms, that peaceful possession is necessary in order that we may obtain and retain the profits of the products of the country; because I did not wish to commit myself by maintaining that what we possess at present is either too much or too little.

In the old documents it will be seen that the Company possessed, besides the Seven Korles, the Three Korles, Saffragam, the Colona Korle, and many other of the king's lands, as well as a large part of the eastern coast, and among these the fertile territory of Paneme,* on the south of Batticaloa, which had all been restored to the king Winneladahan Soeria,† the father of the lately deceased king, and the well-known Ragia Singa Raju,‡ of Maharagia, his father, from whom these had been conquered during the war, at the time when it was thought his friendship was to be bought at any price.

To say that these large territories would have been of no value to the Company, or that they could not be ruled over as well as the Provinces which remained in our possession, or again, that they would not have been helpful in retaining the general products of the country, are statements that cannot be made with any certainty.

Time will prove their value, especially when it comes to the point of our exclusive right of occupation or possession being disturbed, which I hope will not happen for a long time to come; because I fear that in that event the Company would not be too well secured on the east side. In the course of time, and when circumstances permit, attention must be paid to this point, which I mentioned also in my journal when

* Pannala?

† Wimala Darma Suriya.

‡ Raja Sinha II., who captured and imprisoned Robert Knox, and with whom the Dutch had many relations, both amicable and hostile.

passing this district on my circuit around the island in the year 1738.

For the protection of all that the Company possesses on that side of the island there are only the two forts Trincomalee and Batticaloa, with a little ground around them, which is hardly worth mentioning. All the rest of the land belongs to the king, from the boundary of the Wanni, which is the river called by the natives Calloe Iraivil, about 7 or 8 hours (viz., 28 to 32 miles) north of Trincomalee, to the small *Bacos* or low Sand Point (*Zand hoek*) as it is called by navigators, being the south-east end of this island, and from there again westward as far as the river Waluwe, the boundary of the Company's territory, which runs without interruption along the south and south-west coast of the island and along a part of its western border, up to Caynelle, 2 miles north of Negombo. This also has no point of land or territory except the fortress Calpentyn, situated on the river of Putulang. As stated before, this is all the Company possesses of this large island, and it is by no means the best part of it, although not the very worst, because it has been improved during the possession of the Company.

What parts of the country form our territory, into what Provinces each part is divided, where they are situated and how they are constituted, what fortresses are found in each and in what manner they are to be ruled, have been stated so minutely and clearly in other Memoirs that I could only repeat what has already been stated, while to treat of these subjects even generally, would be beyond the limits of this Paper. I consider it better, therefore, to touch only upon those points which I think are necessary for us to bear in mind with a view to remain the masters of the products of the country. I will confine myself, therefore, to our present possessions; because the least attempt on our part to extend our territory is sure to be resented by the up-country people, and might thus lead to the disturbance of peace, and we should in this way sooner lose the products of the country than secure them. We are bound, therefore, to treat these people only with kindness, and endeavour to avoid all means of displeasing them.

But this does not mean that we must go so far as to allow them to take from us what is ours by right. We must not let any of our lawful possessions go out of our hands, as the obstinate and impertinent subordinate land regents of the king desire us to do at Trincomalee, which is referred to in the Journal of 1738 under date June 2, and in our letter to Trincomalee of November 2, 1738, and the letters from there of September 13 and October 5 of the same year. The matter had gone so far that even the courtiers despatched an

ola on the subject to the Dessave of Colombo, most likely convinced by the said land regents; or perhaps they had been bribed to do so. This ola was replied to on November 2, 1738, and our agents were instructed to defend our rights, whatever the consequences. Notwithstanding this order the incompetent *Opperhoofd* Verdonk, who is now vacating office, allowed himself to be persuaded by the king's people only lately to ask for further instructions, for which he had to be reprimanded before his retirement. Particulars on this subject may be found in our last letter to Trincomalee of January 12 last, which, together with the documents cited above, will give a clear insight into this matter.

There are no disputes with the Court with regard to our possessions, and the boundaries are agreed upon on both sides. It must be remembered, however, that the up-country people are very suspicious and watchful with regard to communication between the up-country and the lowlands, so that great care must be taken that no offence is given to people coming down here, and that no people from here going up-country give them any reason for dissatisfaction, in order that the communication which is at present unrestrained may remain so; as this will be advantageous both to the Company and to the people.

This, then, is also a point to be observed with a view to the preservation of peace; and another is that our possessions are well ruled and that there are no disturbances from within; because on this also depends to a great extent our ability to obtain profits from the products of the country. A few words have to be mentioned on this matter also.

Affairs relating to the Company's native subjects are manifold and various. They concern the governing of the native subjects and have reference to the country itself. On each of these points a few words must be said in the interest of the Company.

It is well known that what are called the Company's possessions in Ceylon consist, besides Jaffnapatam, of three chief districts, viz., the Colombo Dessavony, the Galle Korle, and the Dessavony of Matura. At the head of each of these is a European qualified officer* as land regent. In Matura this officer is assisted by a *Landraad* for the settling of disputes.

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* A "qualified officer" usually meant one who received his appointment from the headquarters at Batavia. In the Civil Service those of the rank of *onderkoopman* and above were so appointed: *boekhouders, assistants*, and *aankwekelings* were appointed, in the first instance, by the Governor.

This is a College sufficiently known and has been described in former Memoirs, and mentioned also by me in my journal of 1737; so that I need not enter into details here, but only point out that its work must be continued, and that the purpose for which this institution exists, viz., to help the people, must be kept in view. It would be well to observe the rule, made only lately, that copies of the minutes of the meetings are to be sent to Colombo, to enable the Governor to see for himself how often these meetings are convened, with a view to prevent neglect; because former Dessaves were often negligent, out of regard for their own convenience.

In the Colombo Dessavony and the Galle Korle there is no such *Landraad*, and the Dessave and the Superintendent alone perform those duties. I do not know why, because it seems to me that it is too much work for one person to attend to all the duties of such an important office.

It may be said "Why not now as formerly?" To this we reply that we would like these duties to be carried on better in future than they have been so far. Our object should always be to introduce what would be beneficial, and if we are to be satisfied to see things go on as they did before, matters may go on well for a time, but afterwards there will be no end of confusion, and it will take at least three years to introduce order into the chaos.

The duties belonging to this office are so many that the assistance of such a native or rather mixed Council for the settling of disputes among the natives, which is now left to the Dessave alone, might well be permitted, and no one who is aware of the manifold duties of the Dessave of Colombo will contradict this statement.

Firstly, the Dessave has to hear daily the hundreds of little disputes among the natives, which, when of small importance, might be decided by him alone, but more important matters should be brought before the *Landraad*. A rule could be made that those offences which are punishable with a small fine only, say up to Rds. 5, could be dealt with by the Dessave alone; while cases involving other punishment or higher fines would have to be decided by the Dessave and the *Landraad*, and the most important cases might even be brought before the Governor.

Secondly, the Dessave has to superintend the daily work done in regard to lands, which is one of his chief duties, although on account of his many other duties this is usually considered a secondary matter.

Thirdly, he has to see to the improvement of the soil and its products, which also is a matter of great interest to the Company.

Fourthly, he has to escort the Kandyan embassies whenever they arrive or depart from Hangwelle to Sitawake, which has happened rather frequently of late ; while he has also to make special trips to arrange for the elephant hunts or any other important work to be done. Besides this, he has to make a circuit tour through the whole of the Dessavony, in compliance with the orders of Their Excellencies in their letter of August 12, 1738. This tour is very necessary indeed ; the more so, as the office of Superintendent in the Dessavonies of Colombo and Matura has been disapproved of by Their Excellencies.

It is hard to say where he will find the time for the performance of the duties which come under the fifth head, namely, that of settling disputes with regard to properties and lands, which are so frequent that these alone would occupy half the time of such an officer if they were dealt with properly, and which have to be left very often now in the hands of native officers employed for this purpose by the Dessave. These men it is, therefore, who decide the case, rather than the Dessave, by pronouncing their opinion, so that it is more the Attepattoe or Interpreter than the Dessave who settles the disputes, and this opens a way for all kinds of underhand dealings on the part of the native officers.

For, if there is any point in the administration of the affairs as regards the natives of Ceylon that may be called intricate and almost infeasible, it is that concerning the possession and mortgaging of land, the disputes over which not only never cease, but lead to the consequence that while two parties are in dispute as to their ownership, the lands are left entirely uncultivated. This tends much to the prejudice of the Company, which has to lose its dues, and to that of the people, who lose their products. The ill-will of the natives towards each other is so great that they rather spoil a harvest than allow it to be enjoyed by any one whom they think has no right to it.

It may be said that there ought to be a description of lands, or Thombo, as it is called here, by which it would be possible to prove the ownership to lands. It is true that there ought to be such a compilation, but so far it has been impossible to prepare one. In Matura this work has been undertaken and carried on for the last nine months, but has advanced very little, because the native chiefs do not like it and would rather keep matters in the confusion in which they are at present, in order that they may make as much out of it themselves as they can.

In this Dessavony there are rolls of Thombos for the Hapittigam and Alutcoer Korles ; for other divisions there are

none or only very defective descriptions. The people produce in evidence olas or deeds of gift, with which usually both parties are provided. How much fraud is committed in this way experience has proved. An example of this may be found in the case of Marcus de Silva, former Mudaliyar of the Attepattoe, whom I had to hand over to the Court of Justice on strong suspicion of serious offences in this direction.

I know of no better expedient to redress these wrongs and place affairs on a better footing than by the institution of such a College as the *Landraad*, which not only will be in a better position to investigate such matters and decide who is wrong; but, being partly, and even half, composed of natives, the latter would not all agree to mislead the other members, who do not understand the language, by false reports or mistranslations; while on the other hand, the Dessave alone may be easily misled. It would be the simplest way, because under the present arrangement a conscientious Dessave would be in much uncertainty with regard to these matters, and would have to take twice as much trouble to avoid being deceived than would such a College.

The establishment of such a College would also be the surest and easiest means of obtaining a good Thombo or description of lands. Perhaps the rules followed in Matura, where such a College has been established, may be also adopted here.

In Matura the *Landraad* is composed of European and native members. The Dessave acts as President, the Fiscaal as Vice-President, with three other Europeans as members, and one of the clerks as *Scriba*. The native members here might be the Maha Mudaliyar of the Governor's *Porte*,* the Mudaliyar and Interpreter to the Dessave, the second Mudaliyar of the *Porte*, and the Mudaliyars and *Coraals* of the Salpitty and Hewagam Korles, as they are the nearest. These might be permanent members, while the Mudaliyars of the other Korles and the Mohandirams of the Governor's Life-guard, when on duty, might act as advising members. In this way the College could assemble once a week for the settlement both of disputes among the inhabitants and of questions arising out of privileges, requirements, possessions, and other matters, which would be a great relief to the Dessave, who has now to devote two days in the week to this work, and even then can perform it only imperfectly.

Moreover, if such a College were established, it may be made a rule here, as in Matura, where one already exists, that two or three days in each month be devoted to the

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* *Porte*, gate, from the Portuguese.

examination and registration of properties and rights to landed estates. For this purpose every person might be required to produce his deeds as the work progresses; for example, a commencement might be made with Mendpattoe in the Hina Korle next April, on the opening of the session, when each person who has, or considers he has, a right to any piece of land in that Province, whether for cultivation on payment of dues or as property held as *Paravenie*, might be asked to produce his deeds before the *Landraad*, where they could be examined, renewed, and registered. If no written evidence can be produced, the claim must be supported by witnesses, and the decision of the *Landraad* will be final, except in case His Excellency the Governor considered it proper to grant the land. The public must be informed that no claims will be recognized after the close of the sessions, and that all unclaimed lands will be considered the Company's property, and will be given away or leased out without consideration to claims from former owners.

This notification might be printed and circulated, not only in the pattoe in question, or that particular part of the Hina Korle, but also sent all through the Dessavony, and be even published in Galle and Matura, and also be posted at all schools, resthouses, and the houses of village chiefs; so that no one could pretend to be ignorant of the publication, and it may be expected that all persons interested would apply. During the first session those who are able to produce reliable deeds might be provided with new documents, which could be printed beforehand in order to expedite business, so that they need only to be filled in, numbered, and registered. All doubtful claims to the possession of property or to the right to cultivate land might be laid aside for the next session, or a committee could be appointed during the first session to investigate these affairs, which could then be finally decided during the second session. After this the work could be commenced in another pattoe. The people there could be also warned in time, so that the work might be carried on gradually, and a Thombo prepared of the Company's lands both here and in Galle and Matura—a matter which has been so often desired and would be thus compiled in the quickest, easiest, and surest manner. I say quickest, because even if it should take four months to complete the work in one Korle or Province, there would be a chance of its completion within a few years, while there are some which do not consist of more than one pattoe (as, for instance, the Hina Korle), and these perhaps would not require more than one month. In this manner it could be ascertained what lands belong to private persons or are cultivated by them. It appears to be a better

method than that followed hitherto of sending Commissioners to investigate such claims. It is also the easiest method, because these circuits from village to village and from Province to Province by Commissioners, with the native chiefs as their assistants, for the purpose of compiling a Thombo are a great burden on the inhabitants and troublesome to the Commissioners; while the plan proposed would not inconvenience any one. It is also after all the surest; because in sending out Commissioners it follows that the investigation as well as the final decision are left to the honesty of a few native chiefs who assist the European officers, while by the latter plan the decision would be made by a whole assembly, who surely could not be so easily deceived. This would also give greater satisfaction to the parties interested, who would refrain from making complaints of injustice in the future. This would again tend to the promotion of peace in the country, which is so necessary in the interest both of the inhabitants and of the Company.

This course, besides being the means of settling the question as to possession and of securing peace and quiet in the country, would give the respective Dessaves and Superintendents more leasure to attend to their other duties, as, for instance, of watching the conduct of the native chiefs towards the villagers—a duty which is absolutely necessary if peace is to be maintained. These chiefs are the channels through which the population is to be ruled, and their power is of necessity very great. Thus oppression would be reduced to a minimum, and each person would not only possess but also enjoy his lawful property as far as possible.

I say *to a minimum* and as far as possible; because it would be almost impossible to entirely prevent all extortion, oppression, and violence towards people of the villages. I would suggest some means which seem to me would partially remedy this deep-rooted evil—a matter of the greatest importance in the Company's rural interests. The first point, which it seems needless to mention here, as being only a matter of right, but which experience has proved to have been overlooked, is that the chief ruler of the island should prevent any one obtaining an appointment in the Company's service for payment, because to this may be traced all the other abuses. There can be no question that such gifts or presentations are unlawful, and can never produce any good. First, they place those who have to make the appointment under an obligation which prevents their exercising that strict supervision which the general welfare demands; and, in the second place, they cause these appointments to be given to the highest bidder rather than to the most suitable person, and no good could

therefore arise either to the Company or to the community under such circumstances. In the third place, such gifts are not made with a good motive: the person who makes the gift would endeavour to recover double the amount expended by him by extortion from the poor inhabitants in the interior, who, on their part, knowing the cause of the oppression, often fear to make any complaint. Although submitting to the injustice thus indirectly done to them for a time, and losing all energy to accomplish any useful work, they would, on the least provocation, become mutinous. I do not agree with the absurd maxim that it is easier to rule a poor population than a prosperous one, on the ground that the former has nothing to lose. I think that the latter are more amenable to rule, because their own interest requires that they should live in peace.

In the second place, it is important that the number of native chiefs be not too large, and that no more are appointed than are strictly necessary for the performance of the various duties required by the service; because each individual has to be paid, and the more there are the heavier will be the burden on the population. For some years this point has been much lost sight of, but I gradually introduced a reform by filling the offices which became vacant only with persons who were already entitled to them, and making no new promotions. This may be seen from my journal referring to Matura, where circumstances were worst as regards this matter. In the Colombo Dessavony also I made no promotions but those that were strictly necessary among the native chiefs. I hope this course will be continued. As stated already, the first of the circumstances referred to is the cause of the second difficulty, and if the former be avoided the latter will not be such a source of trouble; although the applications and troublesome petitions for titles, distinctions, and offices by the sons, brothers, and other relations of the chiefs could not thus be entirely prevented. Yet, the number of these might be decreased, and by having good men in these offices the smallest number would best serve the Company.

In order to further this object, the two most important and most profitable offices in the Provinces here, that of *Mudaliyar* or Commander of the Native Militia,* and that of *Coraal* or Overseer of the fields and the Company's operations, were sometimes united in one person. At other times they were separated, when it was found that the two posts of honour given to one person led to the duties of both being neglected. Yet some are of opinion that one person would be sufficient for these offices.

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* The Lascoreens.

As far as I see, it depends on the individual and on the circumstances as to which plan would be best. In large Provinces, where even more than one Coraal is required, I think he should not be made Commander of the Militia also, and care must be taken that the *Attecorles* or Under Coraals of the *Pattoes* in such Provinces are also vigilant and capable persons. In large Provinces, like the Hina Korle, where the subdivisions or pattoes are also rather extensive, I would offer encouragement to these Under Coraals by giving them some title, such, for instance, as Mohandiram ; so that they may have a little more authority in assisting the Coraal who is their superior. This would be better than entrusting the whole Province to a single person. On the other hand, the circumstances in a small Province are quite different. In the latter the two offices of Mudaliyar and Coraal might very well be united. It will, therefore, depend on the inquiry made and the experience of the chief officers of the Government which plan is best. They must guard against being misled by false reports or information.

Lastly, these officers and also the Dessaves must from time to time make investigation into the behaviour of the native chiefs, and keep up a correspondence on this subject, and they must take special care not to disregard or suppress any complaints against the latter on the part of the population, and of preventing their being submitted to the Governor. On the other hand, cases of disobedience on the part of the people of the reasonable orders issued by the native chiefs should also be dealt with. The country would in this manner be ruled in peace.

A few words must also be said with regard to the country itself. That is to say, in what manner its affairs are to be conducted in order that the profits from the produce of the land may be retained, and that we may keep the possession of it unmolested. In the first place, we must consider that in a general sense, being conquered territory, we have the fullest and most absolute sovereignty over it, and that the Honourable Company is the Lord Paramount, on whom have devolved all the rights of former possessors, and to whom those private persons who hold property in it are liable to pay tithes.

Secondly, this right must be carefully guarded : so far it has never been disputed by the natives, although in the course of time it has become less defined. Lands must never be entirely given away, but must always be subject to *Ande*, viz., the tax of half its produce, or to *Ottoe* or tithes. Apart from the revenue which is thus gained, this is always an important recognition of the Company's sovereignty. It will be found that these rights have been often unnecessarily relinquished

in the past, and that the reasons given for doing so were neither sufficient nor plausible. Whatever be the services of the natives which have to be rewarded with a view to encourage them in the future, liberality such as this, of giving away lands or revenues, is like giving away not only a branch from a tree where another will grow again, but like cutting its root and allowing the tree itself to die. This is a most important matter, and I feel obliged to instruct my successors to eradicate a cancer which would destroy all the sources of revenue of the Company, while already so much has to be spent in grants and salaries to the natives of this country. This is an expenditure which has increased so much during the last few years that I think it would be well to investigate this matter in a reasonable manner and with all moderation—a duty which I would have wished myself to perform if time had permitted it.

I say in a reasonable manner and with moderation, because it is in one respect desirable to reward services to the Government by revenues from the country; but on the other hand, the grant of the revenue of an entire village to a single person causes him to arrogate to himself the position of the lord of that village. This is so especially among the ambitious Sinhalese. The Supreme Government of India has often approved of this kind of reward, and I am therefore speaking here only of the abuse and not so much of the practice itself, and what I urge is that the remedy must be applied with moderation, and reform introduced gradually.

The chief cause of the evil is an unnecessary liberality and too ready a compliance with the impudent demands of the natives, who receive far more for their services than they require for their maintenance, and more also than they would receive from the king of this country if they were still under him. This indulgence is as much a source of evil as of good, because against one single individual who would be induced thereby to further the interests of the Company and to keep in view the most important matter, viz., the promotion of agriculture and increasing the products of the country, there will be ten who would be kept back from doing so by the lazy and luxurious life they lead. These would perhaps put their shoulders to the wheel a little more if they received less from their *accomodessa* or sustenance lands. They would also make more efforts to cultivate the now barren fields—a matter that would be easy for them, because they always receive some assistance from the population on account of the authority they have over the latter.

In this case, like in all others, the remedy must be suited to the disease. The best remedy would be to be less indulgent

in future, and to be more careful in granting the Company's revenue to native officers, while in the course of time the present too generous grants, to which the native chiefs have become accustomed, may be also reduced. This will be rather difficult, and the remedy must be carried out with great care and only gradually.

It would be well to consider whether the best course would not be to draw up an Ordinance, to be submitted to our authorities, by which such rewards, and also the salary of European officers, are to be fixed, with a view not only to correct errors that have been committed, but also to prevent them in future. It should fix a reasonable limit to the share to be assigned to each, and should prevent any one claiming more than his due.

It might be made a rule that not more than 12 ammunams should be assigned to the Mudaliyar of a Korle. A Coraal, because, *according to the custom of the country, the people* have to provide him with *pehindoens*, or part of the produce of their fields, not only when he takes up office, but also from time to time after that, should receive no *accomodessa.* 8 ammunams would be sufficient for a Mohandiram, 6 for an Arachchie, 4 for a Cannecappul, and others may receive in proportion.

To make this matter clearer, it will be necessary to state here what revenues the Company draws from these lands and how they are asigned :—

The lands are distinguished as *Mallapallas*,* or exhausted lands; *Nielepallas*,† or deserted lands; *Ratmaherres*,‡ or barren and uncultivated lands, all of which belong to the lord of the country. *Ratnind*, or such fields as are cultivated for the Company, which is almost the same as *Mottettoe*, which means "lord's ground"; but the former term is used mostly with regard to arable fields, and the latter to gardens and other high lands. There are also *Ande* fields, or those lands from which half the produce is to be delivered to the Company, and *Ottoe* fields, or lands from which only the tenth part of the produce is delivered. The latter, and also the *Paravenies* or private fields, out of which likewise tithes are paid, are usually high or sandy soil, and among these are some which are called *Owittes*, which can be cultivated only once in three or four and some only once in six or seven years, because the soil is very poor. There are besides these the *Watterawes*, or low, bulrushy,

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* Lands whose owners have died without heirs.

† Lands abandoned by their owners.

‡ Waste and uncultivated lands which have reverted to the masters of the soil.

marshy grounds, which are cultivated during dry weather, because at other times they are full of water; and *Moelangs*, or high and hilly ground, which on the other hand are cultivated during wet weather; and on these, like on the *Owittes* and the *Dennies* or sand plains, a fine kind of *nely koerakkan*, or *natcherie* (a grain somewhat resembling millet), is grown. In some parts of the country tithes are paid on these, and in others not, according to the custom of each part of the country, which has to be learned by experience.

When a whole village is granted as *accomodessa*, which is usually done, the person to whom it is granted receives all the revenue due from it to the Company, both the half of the produce and the tithes; and also, where this is customary, the revenue from the gardens; in short, all that the Company would otherwise receive as lord of the land. This is granted for services performed, instead of salary or other reward.

Sometimes also the revenue of only some fields in a village or parts of fields are thus given away, while the remainder is retained by the Company. The *Majoraals* or farmers, who must be considered the real husbandmen, are granted some *Duwels* or exemptions, consisting of 2 or 3 ammunams, for which they pay no impost, in return for the services they perform and the provisions they have to supply to the Company's officials passing through their districts, as well as for many other services which these officers have to render. These services are so many that notwithstanding the exemption hardly any one is willing to accept the office of Majoraal. Since the number of Majoraals has greatly decreased, as the result of each one trying to shake off the responsibility of the office as soon as he got a chance, and preferring to become a Lascoreen or something else, which would afford him an opportunity for a lazy and easy life, it would not do to reduce the pay attached to this office. On the contrary, it is necessary that these men should be assisted as much as possible by the respective Dessaves, and be allowed as much compensation as is reasonable; because I consider one of them more useful for the service of the Company and of the country than ten Lascoreens and such like, who are more of a burden than an advantage.

Besides, it is not so much of these poor people that I am speaking, but rather of the large number of chiefs who have possessed themselves in various cunning ways of so much of the revenue that they receive more than the Company itself, and I think that if they would share equally with the Company, which would be only fair, the latter would still be in a good position. At present nearly the whole of the Pasdun Korle has been granted away, and the Galle Korle likewise. In other

Provinces the Company derives more revenue than in these two, but, on the whole, this also does not amount to much. If matters had continued in the way they had gone on during the last few years before my arrival here, the Company would hardly have retained a Korle from which to feed its garrison; and although I have been obliged from time to time to grant pieces of land which had become unoccupied, on the ground that it is unadvisable to suddenly root out an evil which has become customary, yet I managed to save the valuable villages Gompa and Weke in the Alutcoer and Hina Korles, the former for the maintenance of the garrison in Negombo and the latter that of Hangwelle. These had never been granted to any one; but a commencement had been made already to appropriate one piece of land after another. These grants have been withdrawn by the Company, and no lands are to be assigned in this district to any one for maintenance, because these places are very favourably situated for the transport of the nely which is grown there to the two outstations just mentioned. It would be a shame to give away these fields and retain those that are far away, and so necessitate the difficult conveyance of the crop. The natives also know this very well, and it is on that account they are always so eager to obtain the favourably situated lands, and care far less for those that are distant.

Reform is needed mostly with regard to the number and size of the accomodessans. If these be decided upon according to the proposal I have set down, some tracts of land which are now lost might be recovered for the Company without any changes being necessary.

For instance, if the reward of a Mudaliyar be fixed at 12 ammunams as proposed by me, out of a whole village containing 20 ammunams *ande* fields, and 60 ammunams *chena* or *owitte* fields, which are cultivated once in three years, the former yielding 10 and the latter 8 ammunams yearly as revenue, 8 ammunams *ande* and the *chenas* or *owittes* might be granted to him, while the other 12 ammunams of *ande* fields could be granted to some one else or retained for the Company. This would be the best plan, because in following the former course disputes might arise between two usufructors.

I imagine that by the adoption of such rules the Company would be greatly benefited, while the proposed reward is a sufficient return to the native chiefs for the few services which most of them render. There would be no difficulty in carrying out this plan, if at the death of each of them this change were introduced. The Mohandirams of the Governor's Life Guard and the Mudaliyar who assists the Commandeur of Galle

might receive something more than the said 12 ammunams—say 15 ammunams. The office of the Mohotiaars or Interpreters to the Dessaves of Colombo and Matura should, at the death of the two present holders, be reduced in rank to that of Mohandiram, and the remuneration should be equal to that of a Mudaliyar of a Korle. The Maha Mudaliyar or Chief of the Governor's Life Guard may receive 20 ammunams, and the second Mudaliyar, if there be such an officer (who must not be appointed without necessity), may receive 18 ammunams, in order that their dignity above the others may be maintained. The difference between this reward and that which they receive at present is considerable, and might be an inducement to them to cultivate some of the many untilled lands which are still found here in abundance. They would do this to increase their income, while at present they do not make the least effort, because they obtain their reward so much more easily.

Or, the above plan of granting 12, 8, 6, and 4 ammunams might be applied only to the mud or *ande* fields if the reward is to be more liberal, giving them 1½ or 2 ammunams yearly of *chena* or other *ottoe* fields besides, as the excess occurs chiefly with regard to the former. Any one who asserts that the native chief could not exist without the produce of his accomodessan, just as the European officer could not without his salary according to his rank, would find it difficult to prove that assertion. To what extent the Company would benefit if the native chiefs were all remunerated at the rate I have proposed could only be proved by time and experience.

I must now return to where I left off on the subject of native affairs and the Company's subjects in general, as I think I have said all that is necessary with regard to the native chiefs. The saying goes: "The chimney must smoke for both parties."

All that has been stated applies to the whole of that part of this island, usually called Ceylon, which is in the possession of the Company, both on the west and on the south, from Caymelle to Waluwe or the territory of the Sinhalese, including the Dessavonies of Colombo and Matura as well as the Galle Korle, all which are ruled very much in the same way.

Jaffnapatam, on the contrary, having been formerly a kingdom by itself, and being inhabited by a different race, with the *Comptoir** Manaar belonging thereto, and its three Provinces Mantotte, Nathan,† and Moesely, as also the Wanni and the territory along the western boundary of the same, and north of Manaar, extending about 10 or 12 miles up to

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* A Government establishment at an outstation.
† Nandaan.

Jaffnapatam, is ruled in different manner, both with regard to its political and its civil affairs.

Because the Company has the entire sovereign power there the natives have no voice in respect of either of these matters. There also there are native chiefs, but in quite a different position from those here, because they are for the most part of merely titulary character, Majoraals and Collectors, whose duties consist in the collection and delivery of the revenue. The revenue also is of a different nature, and its administration is placed on a different basis, because the Company, at least within the limits of what is properly called Jaffnapatam, possesses very little or no land by which it could be prejudiced. On the occasion of my two visits there, in 1738 and 1739, matters were provisionally arranged, as far as is at present necessary, by the sale of the largest part of Carretchies,* as also by the survey and representation on maps of the provinces along the boundaries of the Wanni, as well as by the survey of the territory along the river Moesely, from the king's territory to the seashore and along the latter up to the farthest end of Mantotte. This work was accomplished by the lately deceased Surveyor Helt, and it serves to show the size of this territory and the three fertile Provinces. In the Wanni also matters were then arranged as satisfactorily as possible, pending the approbation and further instructions which are shortly expected from Their Excellencies. I will therefore not dwell on this subject any further in this place, but refer for information on this and other matters to my diary on Jaffnapatam. Those who desire to obtain more particulars are referred to the well-known Memoir by the late Mr. Zwaardecroon† bearing date January 1, 1697. Few changes have taken place since then; so that most of the instructions there given would be still of value in respect of needs which have not been supplied in the course of time.

With regard to our possessions on the opposite coast, although these also are of importance in enabling us to enjoy the products of the country, no remarks need be made here; because the Company is chiefly settled there for the sake of its trade, and it has no power over the Government nor over the country, its jurisdiction being limited to the shores which are protected by *logies*:‡ these logies being erected not only for the above purpose, although this is the chief purpose, but also as a proof of our right to these shores and as a protection to our possessions in Ceylon.

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* Karaichchi.

† This has been translated into English, and is procurable at the Government Record Office, Colombo.

‡ Lodgings, especially for sailors.—*Calisch.*

Those who wish to know how the native Government there should be dealt with, with a view to retain the peaceful possession of these stations, are referred to the various documents relating to that country of earlier and later dates, too many to be all cited here. Among the latter are my "Considerations regarding the Madura Trade," of November 22, 1738, and the correspondence of the last three years. It is almost impossible to obtain a definite footing among a people who are alternately conquerors and conquered, and who when in prosperity and treated with indulgence are shamefully impertinent and arrogant, but who when they are brought to straits have but little earnestness in their promises. People who care but little for their own country, their liberty, prosperity, and all that ought to be dear to them, cannot be expected to care for the interests of others. This may be seen in the documents relating to Mallabaar, and these people must be dealt with according to circumstances, but on no account treated too indulgently: it would be sufficient not to give them offence. Should they be guilty of offence towards us, this must be retaliated, without any notice being taken of their boasting and threats. These are the natural characteristics of this race, to which in one's intercourse with them one grows quite accustomed to and tired of.

These then are all the possessions of the Company here, in Jaffnapatam, and on the opposite coast, and by the peaceful possession of which we may retain the products of the country. It may cause some surprise that I do not mention here Tingepatnam and its weaving villages, and especially Colletje, where both the trade and the weaving industry are good. I did not do so, although they have been provisionally placed under Tutucorin, because at present matters are quite unsettled, partly on account of the war with the king of Trevancoor, partly because no answer has been received yet from our authorities in reply to the Considerations made by myself both in my diary under various dates and in a special letter dated July 6 last year on the subject to the Supreme Government of India. These instructions when received must be carried out, and I will not dwell on this subject any longer here.

In order to secure the profits, present and future, from this country, it is of first importance to know what they consist of, and secondly how they are to be retained. In speaking of the profits of this country I take the expression in its widest sense, and include in it all revenue derived by the Company through this Government and the profits obtained from the products of the country and by trade. In speaking of the future profits I mean those that may be derived by the improvements introduced in the course of time, as I shall explain point by point.

The Company's trade, as carried on by this Government, consists of two distinct divisions, viz., that of purchase and that of sale. This trade may safely be considered a profitable one, although the exact extent of its returns cannot be stated, owing to the fact that either goods are purchased here and sold elsewhere, or purchased elsewhere and sold here. For instance, as regards the cotton goods purchased on the coast of Madura, the extent of the sale can be known only so far as it concerns Ceylon. I will therefore treat of it only in that connection, because this in itself is a matter of importance to Ceylon. A profit of about 92 per cent. has been made in this branch of industry, notwithstanding the ignorance, carelessness, and covetousness of the officers employed at Madura, and in spite of the fact that the coins there are accepted at a much higher value than they are really worth, and of the purchase value having been raised in order to save the industry from the decline to which it was apparently *tending*. No further instructions having been received, the provisional orders brought here by Your Excellency and our Resolution of December 12 last year must be carried out, and no more need be said on the subject.

This branch of the Ceylon trade is of importance in the present, and will be also in the future. It is so at present, because a profit of nearly 100,000 guilders is made on it, which may be seen from the general account of the receipts and expenditure of the Government which will be annexed to this document. It is there shown that a profit of more than 90,000 guilders has been made on this article alone. It will be of future importance, because it may be expected that the profits from this source will increase when the country becomes more prosperous, and when the regulations for the prevention of smuggling mentioned under the heading of the closing of the harbours can be better observed.

No one need be alarmed at the low profit on cotton goods shown in the books for the years 1738–1739 and 1737–1738, where, in the first case, only Fl. 52,387.18 and in the latter only Fl. 42,707.4 were received. Nor, on the other hand, is it too much to expect that the profit which has suddenly risen to nearly 100,000 guilders will continue to rise; because any one who will take the trouble to look up the said Resolution of December 12 last on the subject of the price of cotton goods and observe the profit which they ought to yield with the currency of the coins reduced to their real value, would see of what great importance this branch of industry is to the Dutch Company in Ceylon :—

1. The prices to be paid for the various kinds of cloth from the opposite coast have now been fixed, so that both the

merchant and the weaver may get their fair share, and the cloths can be made according to the directions and be worth the money. That the ten sample webs of *Guinees** sent to Batavia by the vessel "Noordwolfsbergen" should have been reported to be unsatisfactory in Their Excellencies' letter of October 30 last is not a matter of much consequence, because this opinion has no doubt been expressed by people who are not acquainted with the Madura cloths, and who perhaps compared them with those of Coromandel, thereby making a mistake, as many others do. Even the fact that only a profit of 10 per cent. was made on these cannot alter my opinion in this respect, because I am well aware of the instability of the market at Batavia as regards such goods, and I have but little confidence in the judgment of the Chinese or other merchants at the Company's sales. I am sure there would be many kinds of Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal goods which also yield no more than 10 per cent., and sometimes even less. On the other hand a profit even of 10 per cent. is not to be despised, considering the present high currency of coin. Supposing the currency to be reduced to its proper rate, the *fanums* being brought down from 6¾ to 5 *light stivers* each,† then the profit would rise to 50 per cent.

2. The price at which these goods are to be sold here has been fixed at 5½, 5, and 4½ Rds. per web of Guinees, according to quality, because they are made in three grades of quality. This is not a prohibitive rate for the community here, and it may remain thus if the goods are only of good quality. The up-country people would rather pay Rds. 5½ for the first than Rds. 4½ for the third quality, because they are particular with regard to their dress, and consider the quality more than the price, whenever they buy a *chéla* or part thereof. If the price remains as at present, the profit will increase from 30 or 32 per cent., which is now realized, to 70 or 75 per cent. when the currency of the coin is reduced.

3. It is not too much to state that about 1,000 parcels of Guinees are sold in this Government alone, because Colombo alone requires 50 parcels for the Company's store and the private merchants, while Galle, Calpetty, and the eastern Provinces also have to be supplied. The argument as regards the small sale in former years carries no weight, because it was caused by want of cloth. To return to the 1,000 parcels of Guinees. They are sold at an average of Rds. 100 per parcel,

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* *Guinea-cloths:* "apparently these were piece goods bought in India to be used in the West African trade."—*Yule and Burnell.*

† In the table given by Valentyn the fixed value of a fanam was 5 stivers.

including the three qualities. At the present currency the Company makes on these a profit of Rds. 24,000, but when the value of the fanum is reduced it will increase to Rds. 42,000. This rough calculation shows that even the present profit is considerable, and it is expected to rise during the current year; because 4½ parcels have already been sent to Galle and 215 parcels have been disposed of here, both by consumption by the Company and by sale, although the supply does not meet the demand. It is true that according to the above calculation the total does not much exceed Fl. 70,000. Yet this ought really to amount to Fl. 120,000, which exceeds even my figure of the profit being Fl. 100,000.

4. I would point out further the advantage which this article promises in the future, and draw attention to the fact that about 1,000 parcels or 20,000 webs of Guinees will be required for the up-country only, apart from what will be required here in the lowlands and what will be consumed by the Company, if only the people have the means to pay for the article. For how far would 120,000 *chélas* of 12 *cobidos** each go, or even 150,000 or 180,000 pieces measuring 8 *cobidos* (as the common people wear these), if each person bought only one new cloth a year? And as we have to depend for our food to a certain extent on the up-country, so the up-country people would obtain from us most of their clothing if they have the means. This would be so if the product of their lands (areca-nut) yielded greater profit. It will be seen, therefore, that in this respect also there is a close connection between the interests of the Company and those of the native inhabitants. Even any one who is not personally acquainted with Ceylon would perceive this; because, when the land improves and the inhabitants become more prosperous, even a thousand parcels of cotton goods for clothing would not be considered too much, and then the profits from this industry would still increase.

In like manner as this item of the collection of cotton goods on the opposite coast, which, for many years, had been entered under the head of returns, has now been transferred to the account of the inland trade, so also the trade in areca-nut has now been entered under that of the domestic trade, because the purchase and sale thereof is conducted in this Government.

There is not much to be said on this subject, except that here also the prevention of smuggling is one of the most important points to be considered. In fact this is an important matter for consideration in all branches of the Company's

* Portuguese: *cubito*, a cubit.

trade. The trade in areca-nut, though apparently insignificant, yields an average profit of Fl. 150,000 a year, which certainly is a sufficient compensation for the trouble it causes. It would be still more acceptable if it could be obtained with less worry.

On August 31, 1736, not more than Fl. 72,185.19 had been made on this article, on account of the troubles and the suspension of this trade. The next year the profit rose to only Fl. 86,993.11, but on August 31, 1738, it increased to Fl. 103,866.8. Their Excellencies at Batavia then expressed their satisfaction with the result. Since then the profit has still increased, and on August 31 last it was Fl. 137,754.58, so that it is apparent that if circumstances improve it will still rise. It may perhaps return to the former amount of Fl. 200,000, as in the years 1711, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1722, and 1727. This would not be too much to expect by proper arrangements for the purchase on the eastern coast. Two or three small sloops must always be cruising there to prevent smuggling by way of the salt river Kokelayer. These were mentioned in my diary of 1738 as the chief places where smuggling was carried on, and it no doubt also goes on between Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and especially between the latter place and Waluwe. All these matters, as also the watch at Manaar, were dealt with by me in a special document of which Your Excellency is aware, and to which I here refer you. Care must be taken also that the Company has fair dealing with regard to the *Baddoe** or tax on the areca-nut, and that this article is collected in a strict manner, as it is the source of one of the most profitable revenues.

It is scarcely necessary to state here that all transport of areca-nut by the Company's vessels to other places is prejudicial to us; because this has already been stated in the letter from the Supreme Government of India to this Government bearing date August 1, 1736.

They are of the same opinion with regard to the chanks, as expressed by them in their latest letter. The chanks were formerly collected only on the opposite coast, but will in future be dived for also on the coast of Manaar. As these are also obtained by a fixed payment made to the divers, it may also be considered as a purchased article. In view of the fact that this trade appears to be improving, it would be well to describe it as a trade carried on by this Government, both with regard to its purchase and sale. It is sufficient to mention the subject

* This is probably the same as the "*Wattoebadde*," or *tuins gerechtigheid*, mentioned in the Thombos, where the payment is to be made either in money—rix-dollars and stivers—or in arecanuts.

briefly. An experiment is to be made on behalf of the Company in diving for these chanks at Manaar, with a view to ascertain whether the circumstances of the people on the opposite coast may be thus improved, and also to have always a fair quantity in stock either at Jaffnapatam or at Galle for sale to the Moors and others who import rice. It is not yet possible to say of what importance this matter may be. As particulars relating to the diving may be found in the treatise mentioned above, I would refer you to this in order to save time.

Salt also comes under those articles which are purchased and re-sold by this Government, but it is a matter of small importance. The cinnamon peelers have the privilege of obtaining yearly all the salt they require from the south-east side of this island from the lands known as the Leways. Permission is granted only if their work has been successful. The chief of the Mahabadde makes each time special application to the Governor, and when the request is granted, they go to and fro from their villages with large tonys during the months of December and April, which are the only months when the sea there is navigable. All other inhabitants along the western border of the island, from Caymelle up to the extreme limits of the Company's territory, have to obtain their salt from the Company. It is brought as ballast in the vessels from the opposite coast, and supplied by the Company to Colombo and Galle and all their dependencies, and also to the up-country people, who obtain most of this indispensable ingredient to their food from the Company. On the eastern coast and in Jaffnapatam no salt is sold, because it is to be had there in abundance.

Of far greater importance is the trade in elephants, which also must be considered as an inland trade, although for the convenience of the merchants the bills are cashed in Coromandel, in order that they may avoid the risk of sending the money by sea. In other respects the capture of the animals and their sale concern this island.

With regard to the former, usually two hunts a year are held at Matura; and that is sufficient. It is not necessary to trouble the people oftener, if these two hunts are arranged for in the most suitable seasons: otherwise such times being appointed as would not interfere with the cultivation of the fields, because the hunters make it a pretext to practise extortion on the poor population. The Dessave should direct his attention to this matter, and fix the hunt for the most suitable seasons. A small present should be sent to the king's minor chiefs on the opposite side of the river Waluwe, to induce them to drive down the herds which sometimes during dry

weather go down to the lowlands in search of water. Three hunts were held in Colombo during my administration, and I think that one hunt a year should be held in that district. That would be sufficient, because the elephants are usually better there than elsewhere. When we add to this the elephants captured by the hunters in Mantotte, the tribute of the Wannias, and the result of the hunts on the borders of the Wanni and in the new and improved kraal at Welancoelan, I think the number of elephants for sale will always be sufficient. The inhabitants of Atimote and Piringaly also, who are now again subject to the Company, and who by Resolution of January 9 last have been placed under the Adigar of Ponneryn, together with all the people on the borders of the Wanni, might also be employed in driving and capturing elephants at Welancoelan, and thus perform the service they owe to the Company, instead of being considered independent hunters who have never yet delivered anything for so many years. If these hunts are managed properly, we may count upon 50 elephants from Colombo and Matura in three hunts yearly, while the Wannias would also deliver about 50 animals if they pay up their tribute regularly. From Mantotte and Welancoelan about 20 or 30 animals may be expected, so that we could count upon 100 or 120 elephants yearly. About 90 or 100 of these would survive for the sale, a number which is quite sufficient, as shown in the Resolution of June 15, 1737.

As regards the trade itself: of what importance it is to the Company, what changes have been made during my administration, what obstacles present themselves in carrying out our plans and how they may be removed, what is to be said with regard to the arrears of the Wannias and the new agreement made by the chiefs for paying up these, and all other particulars concerning this subject, have been described at length in various documents during my administration, and have been again dwelt upon in detail at the last general recapitulation meeting, where Your Excellency was also present. It would be superfluous for me to say anything more here except that this trade has, on an average, yielded the Company no more than about Fl. 100,000, but that there is an appearance of improvement in this direction if the new prices remain stable. In that event I trust that about Fl. 120,000 or 130,000 would be made, and this easily, by a little firmness in insisting on this moderate and reasonable rise in the price.

These are the principal articles in which the Company's domestic trade in this country consists, viz., where purchase and sale are carried on within this Government. The rest of the trade consists in articles which are imported and sold here,

but these and the articles which are purchased here and sold elsewhere can hardly be classed under this head.

To the former class belong, as far as Ceylon is concerned, the sale of merchandise in this country, which is divided into two branches, viz., into goods which are sold here, and those which are exported. I explained this in my *Considerations* both with regard to the trade on the opposite coast in particular and to commerce in general.

As to the former, viz., the sale here, which is the branch so far understood by the term "inland trade," the up-country as well as the low-country people sell all kinds of articles, too numerous to mention here, but a list of which may be found in the books, which, though the quantity of each article separately is not very large, yet combined, make a considerable item. Apart from the profit on cinnamon, areca-nut, elephants, cotton goods, and that earned on the opposite coast, the profit on these various articles amounted on August 31, 1738, to Fl. 204,255.19.8. In 1737 it was Fl. 193,002.8, and in the year before that Fl. 217,172.15. This shows a considerable increase since I took up the administration. Seeing that formerly the amount never reached Fl. 100,000, in this respect also improvement may be expected. The up-country people, when they make a profit on their lands, are sure to spend these profits on articles which they fancy, and thus the money spent by the Company in the purchase of their products would circulate and again return to the Company.

In these domestic profits, as they are called, are also included some small quantities of pepper, lead, pewter, bar-copper, &c., which were sold here as well as in Jaffnapatam and Galle. These, according to the distinction just made, ought to be classed under the heading of foreign trade; but this is not a very important matter, as it would reduce the profit just mentioned only by a very small amount.

It is desirable that the second branch referred to, viz., that of the sale of imported articles, should be made more important here. I do not understand why greater efforts were not made to promote this long ago; because I think Ceylon would be very favourably situated for such trade, from the fact of its being on the way of all those who travel yearly from Bengal and Coromandel to Mallabaar, the Indies, and further westward. So, for example, the people from Bengal or from the coast who import rice here might return with a cargo of pepper, areca-nut, lead, pewter, *spiaulter*,* copper, mercury, vermillion, and whatever else may be in demand in those places. They would make the same profit as if they brought those articles

* Zinc.

direct from the places mentioned, and I see no reason why the Company should not do this, because it does not endanger our possessions. As regards the smuggling of cotton goods from these places and the clandestine exportation of pepper and areca-nut, this might be easier prevented in the case of large vessels than of small ones. At present the pepper has to be sent to Coromandel at great cost and difficulty, and the Supreme Government has remarked in their last letter that they wished a greater supply could be drawn from Mallabaar, as great profit is obtained on this article. But this profit might also be obtained here, considering the favourable situation of Point Pedro, Canganture, Kayts, and other places on the seacoast in Jaffnapatam, which from February till October may be easily reached from the Bay of Tondy and the southern coast of Coromandel, especially by small vessels, such as sloops, *goerales*, &c. Considering further the great many vexations to which our people are subjected in some of the places on the opposite coast, where we have but little authority with the natives, and how much more order we could maintain in those places where we are the Sovereign Power, to the convenience and advantage of the merchants, it would certainly be preferable to cultivate this product in Ceylon. It might also be a means of dispelling the fears entertained even by some of the chief rulers that Ceylon to be well governed would always be a source of expenditure to the Company. This mistaken notion may be found expressed also in the documents written during the administration of Governor Versluys, and seems to be still prevalent, notwithstanding the statement made by the Supreme Government of India in their last letter from Batavia that pepper has been known to be cultivated for centuries in Ceylon. Their statement thus differs widely from that of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India as expressed in their letter of October 27, 1730, and other letters of that time.

As for myself, I still hold the opinion, so much disputed at the time, that the expenditure of Ceylon may be easily met by its own revenues and profits if properly administrated. Although this is not the place to demonstrate the point fully, because a better opportunity will probably afterwards occur, yet I feel obliged to state here that I think that at least a few hundred thousand pounds of pepper, a hundred thousand pounds of bar-copper, as much or somewhat more of *spiaulter* and lead, about half that quantity of pewter and such like merchandise may be always retailed at Jaffnapatam if proper efforts be made. About half the quantity of pepper could be sold to the inhabitants, and the rest and also the other articles would find a market with well-to-do merchants, who would

take them back to their countries instead of ballast, if a sufficient quantity were but always kept in stock. The articles most in demand, and which help us to sell the other products, are pepper and pewter, and these should be kept in Colombo and Galle, because there is a direct passage from Galle to Coromandel, while from here it has to proceed *viâ* Manaar, which is rather an obstacle to trade as far as the natives are concerned. But the Moors and other merchants from the Ganges and Coromandel may easily touch Colombo for the purpose of selling their rice and taking in other merchandise. On this account, as previously stated, the two places just mentioned must be well provided with such articles as would find a ready sale. In saying this I do not mean to urge again my proposal of December 28, 1736, with regard to the importation of goods from China, which was decried so much and rejected by their Excellencies in their letter of December 20, 1737. Yet I have not been diverted from the opinion I then held, and, with due respect to those who rejected my proposal, I must say no substantial argument has been brought forward against it. I never held the interests of the Company so lightly that I would easily relinquish a proposal for furthering them, although, like many others, I am powerless against a despotic *nolo*, and would have to wait for what time and circumstances would bring forth. To enlarge upon this subject here would only remind me of much opposition I have met with and of much unpleasantness which time has made me almost forget. In some respects my propositions have been accepted in the course of time, and there is therefore no need of referring to these points here.

I will now proceed to treat of the second branch of the trade, which now is not domestic, but yet of which the profits are drawn here, viz.:—

The sale of merchandise on the coast of Madura. This is a matter which has received but little attention during my administration, because I soon ascertained the farcical character of this trade. It has now been almost at a standstill since I exposed the matter in my already-cited Considerations of November 22, 1738. The amount was formerly about Fl. 100,000 or more, but has now come down to Fl. 73,954.8.8, as shown last August. This decrease is partly due to the troubles in the country, but mostly to the non-receipt of the ill-gotten profit. This trade, not to be itself despised, must be encouraged again when the first scare is over, and the articles must then be sold for Pagodas. I trust that after peace has been restored in the country, we will still make a good sale on the opposite coast, although not to that large extent as

before. This is, however, not necessary. If the new establishment at Cape Commoryn also should answer the expectations, I think this item in the Ceylon profits will be considerable. No more need be said here on this subject, except that all the establishments on the opposite coast must be quite well provided with everything that is necessary for the trade.

This then constitutes the Company's trade, further details regarding which may be found in the books. The amount received by the Company is shown in a summary account, a copy of which is sent yearly both to Holland and to Batavia. This method is, in my opinion, very defective, as it does not show the general items of expenditure and receipt, according to which the books at Batavia have to be compiled, but the expenditure and receipt of each establishment in particular. The defectiveness of this method was clearly shown when making up the general accounts which have already been mentioned. I had then to go through all the accounts of the subaltern establishments. In my opinion the yearly accounts of the whole of the Government should consist of a statement as to the entire expenditure and receipt of all the establishments together, with a subdivision showing the cause of any increase or decrease for each separate establishment, and a comparison with the figures of the preceding year in order to show the difference. This would involve more labour on the part of the compiler, but would simplify the work of the Governor, the Supreme Government of India, and of our masters; as they could then see at a glance where matters had improved and where they had fallen off, by comparison of the various items in the different establishments. It is true that there are to be found in each establishment items which are not found in others, but these are not so important that they could not be included in some of the other items, as was done in the making up of the general account; because it is not necessary to specify every trifle in such a summary, but rather to abbreviate as much as possible. For the rest, I will leave this matter to Your Excellency's own judgment, and you may make any alteration that seems necessary, as I would have done long before this, if my attention had been drawn to these matters before the verification of the general accounts at the end of August. The fact that I did not do so proves again how in an administration like this it requires many years to become acquainted with all particulars and to be able to penetrate into the real interests of the Company. There are those who imagine that they are able to do this with hardly any experience. We may say of this, as it is often said of arts and sciences, *ars longa, vita brevis.*

Next in order to the Company's trade, the unsatisfactory condition of which will be deplored by all who have its interests at heart, and which has been treated of in this manuscript as being really the most important matter affecting this Government, follows :—

The revenue, which, as the third subdivision among the subjects of interest to the Company, may also be looked upon as a very important one; the more so as any improvement made in this respect will be stationary, while, with regard to trade, improvements made in one place will often cause a falling off in another.

For this reason chiefly was my attention drawn towards this point during my administration, and I have cause to thank God for His blessing on the endeavours made for the improvement of this capital branch of the Company's resources in this Government. In order to speak with accuracy, although much has been said already on the subject, and even Their Excellencies at Batavia have enlarged upon the matter in their general rescript lately received, the revenue must be divided into two classes, viz., the General, or that which is of the same nature and description everywhere, and the Special, or that which is peculiar to and arises out of the customs of the various districts.

The general farming out of many of the revenues, which takes place yearly on the last day of August, is the most important in the former class. During my administration these farms would have greatly increased the revenue, were it not that the rise in some places was counteracted by a decrease in the amounts of the arrack rents, which may be noticed from year to year. It is not because this liquor is less in demand than formerly, but on account of its scarcity, either owing to the trees becoming exhausted, in which case the remedy would be found in the planting of new trees, or because the people have been discouraged by the bad times Ceylon has passed through and have been neglecting the trees. The Company's gardens, which have been leased, may also have been neglected in this manner. Perhaps also the departure of so many *typperaars*,* called here *Chiandos*, and the export of *koppers*† or shelled coconuts, which has only lately been stopped, or other less known causes, may be at the bottom of it. This is certain, that the rents paid for this liquor have greatly fallen off, as may be seen from the general accounts which I had compiled for a few years as an appendix, with a view to arrive at a better understanding of this matter. In general the

* Toddy drawers. † Coppera.

lease of rents has increased during my administration from Fl. 142,224 in 1735, which then was the highest amount ever received, to Fl. 159,078 last August. Were it not for the decrease in the proceeds from the arrack rent, I think the amount would have been Fl. 170,000. The deficit between the rent for last year and that of some years back for Colombo alone, both in the Castle and outside, is more than Rds. 1,000. In Galle the deficit is about Rds. 100, while in Jaffnapatam also a deficit is observed. The best remedy would be to plant new trees, and with this view, when I last visited this Dessavony, I caused all the lands along the seacoast between Galkisse and Caliture to be surveyed and entered in maps, so that they might be leased more profitably than had been done heretofore. Not a tenth part of these lands had been cultivated, but most of them were allowed to remain waste, under pretext of cinnamon growing on them. This, however, was found on examination by the chief of the Mahabadde and his officers upon my orders to be of no importance, and to be no justification for allowing such a large tract of land, so suitable for the planting of coconut trees, to lie waste. It would be much more in the interest of the Company if the grants issued by the respective Dessaves for these lands were withdrawn, because they were given on condition of the lands being cultivated, which has never been carried out. They could then be divided into small lots of 25 *roeden** along the roadside, and as far as they stretch inwards, and be given away by deeds of grant on condition that they are planted within two years, and with the proviso that on failure of doing so the land and all that has been partly planted on it would revert to the Company. This would break the people of the bad habit of applying for grants of land for cultivation and allowing them to lie waste after obtaining them, to the prejudice of the whole community, this being done simply to prevent others from cultivating the land.

After this scheme is carried out, the same might be done on the opposite or east side of the public road to Caliture, where also much land is lying waste on the same pretext with regard to the existence of cinnamon. It is a strip of land of the breadth of an ordinary garden, from 30 to 50 *roeden*, in some places more and in others less. It was set aside for the use of the community for cultivation or planting. These lands would become more and more desirable on account of their being near Colombo and for other reasons. Thousands of trees might be planted on these two strips of land, and many people might thus find a livelihood. It should be seen that

* Rhenish roods.

every year in the Company's gardens new trees are planted, even if it were only 500 or 1,000 trees, as was done during my administration in the gardens at Calawille, Bentotte, and other places, both by the planting of more trees, where space permitted, and by the supplying of the place of trees which are too old or that have died by new ones. There are too many of the old or decayed trees to be found everywhere. If this is done, there is a hope of increasing the production of *Suri** and coconut oil, by the want of which the rents have decreased. Yet, this can be done only in the course of time, and would take some years.

It is certain that an improvement of the condition of the country will bring about an increase in the public funds, and I think that to this must be attributed the rise in most of the rents which depend on the general trade, &c., such as the fishery rent, the bazaar rent, and, in Jaffnapatam, besides these, the ferry of Colomboganimo and a few other small revenues. But whether to the same cause must be attributed the general increase in the *Alphandigo*† both there and at Point Pedro, or whether this is due to the increased smuggling, of which, perhaps the farmer also gets his share, I do not know. At the end of August, 1730, the rent both for the import and export duties was still Rds. 6,000, as it had usually been, while now it has risen to Rds. 10,000. This matter requires the attention and careful investigation of the Commandeur; for if such be the case it would be a source of great disadvantage to the Company's interests in other respects.

Among the other revenues which are common to all subordinate stations must be also classed the Tithes, which, only within the limits of Jaffnapatam, are paid in cash at a fixed rate, but in all other places are to be paid in nely. The amount of this for the whole of the country is considerable, and I hope that by and by it will suffice for the wants of Jaffnapatam, where yearly 20,000 parras‡ of nely are required, especially since the withdrawal of the grants which had been too freely issued on the borders of the Wanni. This and a better cultivation will surely increase the revenue, while Carretchie alone when taken in hand properly, will, I expect, by good crops yield almost half that quantity. Manaar can be abundantly provided for out of the tithes received from the opposite coast; but in the Colombo Dessavony this is not so easy, on account of the liberal grants of land as stated above; although the requirements for the outstations may yet be found out of the revenue, excluding

* Toddy. † Customs duty.

‡ A *parra* was equal to 5 *kurunies* or 24 *seers*. It was therefore somewhat less than an English bushel.

however the distribution to the cinnamon peelers of Negombo and Berberyen.* This may be seen in the lists of the tithes kept in the Dessavony. With regard to Matara, some of the tithes may be spared there if the revenue is properly paid and correctly levied, or at least it will receive sufficient for its own wants; but Galle receives hardly anything, because most of the land has been given away.

The other revenues and taxes vary in the different Provinces. The inhabitants of Jaffnapatam pay in cash, besides the tithes, also land rent, poll-tax, *Officie* and *Adigarie* money; the names, meaning, and peculiarities of which have been described in the Memoir on Jaffnapatam by Mr. Zwaardecroon,† to which I will only add here that the respective Commandeurs of the different places find it difficult at present to find trustworthy collectors for these taxes, and that this matter would be best left to their discretion, if they only see that the third quarter's dues are paid before the closing of the accounts, in order that only the last quarter's may be due, and this must be paid before the new year, as is the practise at present. The revenue there is not very large, because the inhabitants are very reluctant to pay these taxes, although it will be somewhat better now, because they have been absolved from the arrears of the last three years *Chicos*‡ money, mentioned in my first journal by Their Excellencies through my intercession.

There is also levied in this Dessavony a garden tax, as also in the Galle Korle and in Matura, but not everywhere. It is usually called *Wattebaddoe*, and consists of 2 to 4 or more *schellingen* levied on a third of the produce of additional trees, which would otherwise be sold to the profit of the lord of the country. This is the tax which, together with that of a third of the full produce on lawfully cultivated gardens, and half of those unlawfully cultivated,§ caused so much trouble and discontent during the administration of Mr. van Domburgh that at length the amount was refunded to those who had already paid it, in order to restore matters to a tranquil state. The matter is, however, still unsettled, in so far that those who have cultivated gardens, either lawfully, that is with permission, or unlawfully, that is without permission, the former having to pay one-third, and the latter half of the produce, according to the old customs of the country, are not paying at all. I allowed this to go on for a time, because a new Register

* Beruwala. † See note on p. 31.

‡ Fines recovered from defaulters in *oelie* (= cooly) service.

§ The reference here is to land cultivation with or without permission. The latter is denoted in the Thombos by the term "*Zonder konsent*."

of Lands was necessary in any case, which, if not completed generally as regards all lands, must yet be compiled for the gardens. A commencement has been made with the latter, and it must be completed during Your Excellency's administration.* This work will be sure to satisfy the community, as it will give them a right to their properties. They have never opposed the levy of this tax by the Company, because it was also the custom with their ancestors that a newly cultivated garden should be liable to tax after a few years; but they opposed the introduction of this yearly tax, which was a novelty to them, and it must therefore not be introduced again.

Besides the *Wattebaddoe* or garden tax, the revenues of the lord of the country are distinguished by various other names, such as *Deccum*, which is a kind of poll-tax, *Polaye-panam*, or one-tenth of the produce of coconut trees, which is usually paid in money, *Del-panam*, or the tax on nets, *Oeroe-panam*, a tax on *Tonies*, *Toepetie*, or the tax in lieu of personal appearance with a piece of linen and other impositions, of which some are paid in cash and others in areca-nut. A specification of all these various sources of revenue would be beyond the limits of this Memoir. But although of little importance, since they all together bring in hardly Rds. 1,000 in cash and about twice as much in areca-nut, yet such trifles also must not be neglected. The areca-nut most in demand is that from Caliture, because the nuts are better, or rather larger, than in Colombo. During my administration I had the 600 ammunams of these which are received on an average yearly distributed among the nuts sold, so that a purchaser of 100 ammunams of Colombo nuts received 10 ammunams of those from Caliture. This was to avoid jealousy, and it is a course that would be desirable to follow in future.

Besides these revenues there are also those of the *Mottettoe*, *Ratninde*, and *Ande* fields, by which the Company receives the whole or half of the nely produce. Although there are but few of these fields in this Dessavony, yet in Gampaha their number will be considerably increased. The value of the Girways and Baygams is a matter already well known from my circuit journal through this district, and as regards the latter also from the documents on the subject sent to Batavia and to the Netherlands. The subject has been lately dealt with again in the journal of Commandeur Overbeek, where he speaks of the last rent. Their Excellencies at Batavia have also dealt with the subject at length in their reply. I will therefore only

* It was in fact not completed till after the arrival of Governor Falck in 1766.

remind you here of the land discovered lately by the Dessave Kersse in Baygam and the plan of Their Excellencies to lease out these lands in future for a longer period than three years at a time. It may be expected that the revenue from this source would increase in the course of time, and I presume that not only will the nely thus received be sufficient for the requirements of the Commandement of Galle, but also that at least a few hundred lasts* could be spared for Colombo. This increase would be likely to continue to increase.

In the Points of Consideration to which I have here referred generally, I have also spoken of the income derived from oil in Matura, and I wish to state here that it is not without reason that all this revenue is called considerable, because the yield during the whole of this century was not only an average of Fl. 262,800 yearly, but even went beyond that. During some years it realized as much as Fl. 300,000 and Fl. 400,000. The prospects are that it will still increase, considering that at the end of August, 1736, it was Fl. 194,611.19, in 1737 Fl. 227,317.19, in 1738 Fl. 257,804.4, and last year (1739) at the closing of the accounts it amounted to Fl. 472,716.19. Deducting from this amount Fl. 100,000 for the sale of lands, which cannot be considered as yearly revenue, a sufficient amount remains to justify the hope of improvement in the future, if it please God to restore peace in this country and to grant His blessing on the income, which I pray the Company, Ceylon, and Your Excellency may see realized.

I must now turn to the third source of income, namely, that of the products, among which will be also included the returns, because the latter are derived from the former, and because the former have been greatly reduced by several items being entered under the heading of the domestic trade. There remains therefore but little to be said on products which could not be classed under the latter category.

Cinnamon is certainly the most important product, although it does not require a special description, its interest to the Company being so well known. The means of obtaining it is the daily care of the chief ruler. This Your Excellency will find out gradually, while everything that may be written on the subject is to be found in the various documents, and especially in the Memoir by His Excellency van Rhee of February 25, 1697, who dealt at length with this subject, and to which document I would here refer.

What has been done in regard to this during my administration is shown in the Resolutions of May 7, November 5, and December 11, 1737, as also in the letters sent both to Batavia

* A *last* was equal to nearly 53 bushels.

and to the Netherlands during the same period. I would therefore refer to them here. I have nothing to add to the information there contained, except that this is a matter which gives most trouble to the chief ruler of this island; not so much in itself, although the people with whom he has to deal in this matter are very perverse and unmanageable, but more on account of the *facheux* circumstances in which he is constantly placed. This has been a source of trouble to many a Governor here, and it induced me to propose that, if possible, there should be a year's supply of cinnamon in advance, so that we might keep these unruly people in check. To which proposal the Government of India replied, in their letter of August 12, 1738, that as far as the Fatherland was concerned they would leave the matter to the judgment of the authorities there, but that as far as the Indian trade was concerned they would not like to receive more in advance than the ordinary 1,000 bales. All we heard since then was that for the present there was no fear of the stock of cinnamon becoming too large. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact that instead of these 1,000 bales the ordinary demand for India has for many years been 1,500 bales, and also that this year above this quantity there ought to have been delivered 200 bales for Persia besides the 100 bales sent directly by Their Excellencies? The order for the 200 bales was contained in a letter from the Gamrouse officials of August 9, 1738, but as we could not send them, this quantity is yet to be forwarded. Nine hundred bales are also to be sent to Coromandel, which would have to be sent out of the proceeds of the small harvest; all this making 2,100 bales, besides 8,000 for the Netherlands. It would seem that in the Netherlands also the views on this subject have undergone a change, because we received orders to consider the requirements for the next year. I do not propose to enlarge upon this subject here, and would only recommend to Your Excellency a constant attention to the promotion of this important enterprise. Care must be taken that the people of the Mahabadde (which means "the great tax," and chiefly refers to the Chalias in the villages of Cosgode, Wellitotte, and Madampe, but under which are usually included all cinnamon peelers in general) diligently do their work during the season, and that the old and wholesome institutions, such as those introduced in the Memoir referred to of the year 1697 with regard to the yearly enumeration of these people in April before the commencement of the great harvest, &c., are revived. Thus would gradually come an end to the shameful neglect and fraud which has crept in through the carelessness, indulgence, or credulity of the former chief ruler. This may be done without much difficulty if the rules made during

my administration are maintained. I must also warn Your Excellency that these people never cease to complain and petition, although they are better off than any of the other inhabitants in Ceylon ; and that they always come with these complaints when it is time to commence the peeling, their sole purpose being to postpone the work and then to say afterwards that they went to the forests too late to be able to deliver the required quantity of cinnamon. At present they not only owe the usual impost, but also that which was imposed upon them by Resolution of November 5, 1737, duly announced by Proclamation. The performance of their work is a matter that must be insisted upon if these people are to be kept in order, and it is Your Excellency's wish to be able to satisfy the several demands, because for some time to come it will not be possible to have much cinnamon peeled. Once the proper quantity has been peeled it will be easy enough to diminish the quantity, so that there may be no danger of being overstocked with it.

Besides the cinnamon just treated of, and the elephants and areca-nut referred to previously, Ceylon has also from olden times exported cardamom, of which our authorities at present require yearly 8,000 or 10,000 lb. Since the price was raised as mentioned in the letter to Galle of November 22, 1736, and sanctioned by Their Excellencies in their letter of August 12, 1738, this article has been coming in more readily than before, although we were not in a position to send more than 7,600 lb. Perhaps this was merely due to the unusual rains towards Matura, which made the roads from the up-country impassable just when this aromatic seed was to be sent down, because we had expected to collect again this year about 9,400 lb. as we did last year. The quantity collected here is very small, the larger portion having to be purchased in the king's territory. We did not also know how much of this article would be required, and did not expect such large orders from Europe. It may happen that if a large quantity is purchased a great part of it would be left on our hands. Ceylon itself* also produces a considerable quantity of cardamom, and could yield more if necessary, but the up-country quality is better. This is proved by the fact that even the natives here prefer it to that which is produced in their own country.

The Mallabaar cardamom would also grow here, because a few shrubs are found in Hangwelle. So far little attention has however been paid to its cultivation, perhaps because other products, and especially pepper, have taken up too much time.

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* *I.e.*, Ceylon forming the Dutch dominions.

It is more than one individual could do to regulate such an extensive enterprise ; the continuation of it is therefore recommended to Your Excellency's attention. I have given the *Coraal** of the Hewagam Korle, in whose garden near Hangwelle the said cardamom plant grows, strict orders to carefully cut and plant all the shoots from the roots which the cardamom gives out in abundance and thus enlarge the plantation. It is to be hoped that the change of soil will not deteriorate the quality, which at present makes the Mallabaar cardamom preferable to that of Ceylon. This is a question which time alone will prove. So far as I know the point has not yet been settled.

The cultivation of cardamom is, however, of small importance as far as the interests of the Company are concerned, and unless Their Excellencies, our superiors, should require more of it in the future we have no great expectations on this point, even if the Mallabaar kind could be grown here in the same quality. We must not, however, neglect even the smallest trifle that would enhance the interest of the Company, and that is why the subject is mentioned here.

The pepper cultivation is of greater importance. Cardamom and other Indian drugs may be used less in future in the mixing up of medicines, since both are subject to the prevailing fashion in vogue. Pepper, however, will be always in the fashion, and it has become too necessary in the preparation of food to ever fall entirely into disuse. It also does not grow in every climate, so that there is no fear of the market being over-run, as happened in the case of coffee.

This very necessary product, important both in the inland and foreign trade as well as in export to Europe, has been mentioned already, while further particulars may be found in the correspondence with the Netherlands and Batavia, and will be treated of also in the appendix to this manuscript. I would merely add here that to all appearances this year will be a still more profitable one in this respect than last year, when 46,500 lb. were sent to the Netherlands. According to a private communication 3,000 or 4,000 lb. have been received at Calpetty and 7,000 or 8,000 lb. here, while from last December to April next quantities will be daily brought down from the up-country as the seeds become ripe. This trade may therefore become very important within the next few years. May Heaven bless this enterprise for the advancement of the Company's interests in Ceylon.

Coffee has been also treated of at length in the appendix referred to, so that it is not necessary to mention it here.

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* See page 24 for a definition of this office.

The silk cultivation, for so far as the term may be applied to the poor remains of it that now exist, has had no success up to date, and also need not be mentioned further here.

As regards the *Zaeye* and *Ruinas* roots,* the cultivation of the latter is of no value; while the former is impracticable as far as the natives are concerned, although it seems to promise to be successful in Mallabaar, if only the price could be the same as at Manaar. The last sample received from the island Bendoerti has been considered equal to what is produced by the dyers at Jaffnapatam, as stated in our letter to Cochin on this subject dated December 23 last. I think the statement made by me in my Considerations on the trade in cotton goods will prove true, namely, that the red-dyeing of the cloths here is by no means estimated at its proper value, as it is not considered what it would cost if we did not have the advantage of the system of servitude. That these cloths on sale sometimes yield but little profit is not due to the cost of dyeing but to the cost of the cloth itself. With regard to the *Zaeye* in Mallabaar, upon which the Cochin officials have not yet expressed their opinion, I think that the price ought to be raised, if it were only to Rds. 10 or 12 the *bhaar*,† so as to promote the cultivation of this product. This is a more expensive dye-root, but if mixed with those of Manaar and Carrediva, or even with those of the *Seven Places*‡ and with the *Ruinas* roots, it would not make the cloth so much more expensive, while it is important that the Company should obtain a larger supply of roots.

The red-dyeing works at Jaffnapatam, in which we are far behind with the orders which Their Excellencies according to their last letter desire us to execute, are unable to turn out a sufficient quantity of cloths. They could be sold both here and in Batavia at 40 or 50 per cent. profit if we only had a sufficient stock. It is most necessary that the new regulations laid down by me in my third journal, under date April 11 last year, with regard to the delivery of dye-roots should be strictly observed, because they have been made so moderate that the root-diggers at Manaar have delivered half as much more as was required from them. They can do this every year if Heaven would only bless this barren and sandy territory with sufficient rain. The prospects for the present year would seem under God's blessing to look favourable. To explain what I have said regarding the price of *Zaeye*. According to the new

* Two species of dye roots.

† A *bhaar* or *bahar* (Tuticorin) was equal to 520 lb. In the weighing of cinnamon a light *bahar* of 480 lb. and a great *bahar* of 744 lb. are mentioned by Valentyn.

‡ Seven Provinces?

regulations concerning the mixing of these two very different dye-roots, contained in the journal of the late Mr. Rumpf on his circuit in Jaffnapatam, bearing date January 3, 1730, just one *bhaar* of *Zaeye*, or 480lb., is needed for one parcel of Coromandel Moeris of 100 pieces. This costs Fl. 630.98 a parcel, or Fl. 6.6.2 a piece. Suppose this were dyed with roots costing Rds. 3 or 4 more per *bhaar*, the difference would be a little more than half a stiver per piece, or 2½ *light stivers** on every Rds. 4. The sale price remaining the same, it would reduce the profit from 50 to 49 per cent., which is but a small difference. I explain this here so minutely in order that this good work, with fair prospects in Mallabaar, may not be retarded on account of this small difference in the price. It is a point which deserves consideration whether the price which is at present so low and disproportionate ought not also to be raised for the encouragement of the root-diggers here, who at present hardly earn their dry rice in doing this work, and have to be kept to it almost by force. Many even try to run away, or look for other work in order to escape from this servitude. I would be inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. I have dwelt at sufficient length now on the products of the country.

I now proceed to the subject of the hopeless enterprise with regard to the Kirman goats, and the no less hopeless and almost forgotten matter of the Indigo cultivation, about which even our lords and masters and the Honourable the Supreme Government of India have given up hope.

The sea along Ceylon's coast also has its products, and yields besides the chanks already mentioned, the costly pearl.

The Aripo and Tutucorin pearl banks must also be regarded as productive, or rather as sources of revenue, because the profits are derived more in the shape of various impositions, such as a duty recovered from the divers on the stones, from others on what they bring up; a duty on the oysters which are sold by public auction; the lease of the so-called exchange; and import duty on cloth, &c.; while the Company does not really receive any pearls. There is not even a chance of buying any, as our masters have so often desired us to do, because they are usually so dear at the time of the pearl fishery that the Moors are cunning enough to brighten up old pearls and bring them there for sale, thus making money by cheating ignorant people.

But, whether it is looked upon as a product or as a source of revenue is a point of no importance, so long as it is decided whether to class it among the real profits of Ceylon or among

* 60 of these were equal to 48 Dutch stivers.

the doubtful sources of revenue, like so many others in the Company's trade, which make a great show but do not yield much real profit.

This question is neither a new one nor is it without foundation. To come to a decision upon it we have to consider the advantages which have just been mentioned, together with all the inconveniences and danger to which the Commissioners and the Militia are exposed, the expenditure incurred in transport, provisions, vessels, salaries, &c.; the risk of a hundred accidents arising from the gathering together of such a crowd with only a handful of men to control them; the sickness and mortality both during and after the fishery owing to the stench of the oysters; the rise in price of victuals; and the standstill in the Company's trade here for a long time on account of the difficulty of preventing the smuggling of cotton goods up-country. And now we may add also the smuggling of pepper, not to speak of the loss in the sale of areca-nut, because the presence of more than 100,000 people in the country for more than two or three months will mean that a large quantity of these nuts will be consumed, on which the Company will have no profit whatever. Considering all these points, I am inclined to think that unless the fishery is very successful, it would be rather prejudicial than profitable to the Company, and that it would be much better if they could be avoided, even if it were by a yearly lease of the license to dive on the pearl banks, in the same way as at present an experiment is made with the diving for chanks, the number of people and tonys being regulated. Or other arrangements should be made with a view to finding an expedient by which the Company may be guaranteed the advantages to which it has a right as the lord of the land both here and on the opposite coast. The poor condition of the pearl banks during the last few years, and the small chance of having a good fishery for some time to come, is no new occurrence, since they have often before been sterile for a longer period than this. It is just as absurd to attribute this to the troubles in the country, as to say that the cause of the Madura cloth being less in demand is due to fate. It is by no means necessary to trace to such remote causes events which are neither unusual nor unsearchable. I only mention this in passing, as it relates to the subject in hand. For the rest, as long as the old opinions on this point are maintained, the interests of the Company require that yearly, or, as this would for the present be useless and the expenditure might be avoided, every other year, the banks both here and on the opposite coast are inspected. For the inspection here neither the Tutucorin tonys nor the presence of the Dessave of Jaffnapatam are required, as stated by Their Excellencies

in their last letter, because for the present the smaller the expenditure the better. If the inspection should give favourable results the tonys may be ordered soon enough, while in that case the necessary precautions for security can also be taken.' In the year 1732 the Company was treated very badly in this respect, and it remains an open question whether or not, as many of the natives think, the banks were exhausted out of revenge by the divers who had been brought there against their wish, and who perhaps did not spare even the smallest oysters, so that since then no fishery could be held. This reason seems more plausible than that of the troubles in the country, although these have been great enough, and we pray God that there may be no re-occurrence of them, which is my earnest wish in closing this subject.

The name of the Maldive *cauris* shows that these are no Ceylon product, but are obtained from the numerous Maldivian coasts and sand banks. They are yet classed among the returns of Ceylon, for the reason that the vessels of the king and other chiefs of the islands bring them directly here and sometimes also to Cochin, from where they are usually shipped in the vessels returning to Europe.

This is a matter which calls for no observation beyond the fact that this article makes good ballast for the ships, so that, although the profit on it in the Netherlands is but small, the transport on the other hand costs very little.

As the price appears at present to be fair in the Netherlands, efforts ought to be made to obtain as large a quantity as possible, in compliance with the instructions received from Their Excellencies at Batavia in their letter of October 30 last year, which was sent in reply to the request made by our authorities in the Netherlands both to Their Excellencies and to the officials at Cochin. I decided therefore to buy this marine product during this year at the rate of Rds. 2½ the *Cottie** of 24 lb., which is Rds. 2 more than the people used to receive for it, and for which they had asked in vain during the two preceding years. The king is also allowed to load his vessel with 50 ammunams of areca-nut at the former price, Rds. 5, free from export duty. No one else is allowed the privilege of taking areca-nut. My assurance to the people sent through him that these rates would be adhered to as long as they delivered to the Company the greater part of their *cauris* was acknowledged by their sending this year more than could be shipped in the return vessels, amounting to 236,227 lb. We also obtained 142,444½ lb. from a private merchant at Bengal, who had come to Manaar owing to adverse winds. The

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* Probably the Sanskrit *koti*, a hundred lakhs.

demand for the Netherlands both from here and from Bengal amounts to 400,000 lb., and occasionally even more, so that the Company's interests require that the import should be favoured. Supposing the Company were to spend about Fl. 100,000 on this article as ballast, it would make a profit on it of Fl. 30,000 or 40,000 ; and this would be easily earned.

But of greater importance in the interests of the Company than the profit made on Fl. 100,000 laid out for ballast is the cargo of Madura cloths, which on an outlay of Fl. 600,000 or 700,000 would yield half of the capital or more as profit by sale in the Netherlands. This cargo has to be obtained by the collection of cotton goods on the opposite coast.

This subject has been already touched upon from the point of view of the domestic trade of the Company, and as its treatment from this second point of view is of no less importance, I would deal with it here under the head of Ceylon returns, if it had not been already spoken of at length in the well-known Considerations. I think it therefore superfluous to enter upon it again, the more so because the question as it relates to the Fatherland is still under consideration, and could only be decided in the course of time. The sooner this is done the better for the interests of the Company, in order that the Ceylon returns may regain their former importance, for which the prospects are favourable if Heaven would bless our efforts.

Thus, Sir, it may be seen what advantages the Dutch East India Company may derive from Ceylon, and how these may be secured by an exclusive and peaceful possession of our territories. But these two conditions would be of little use unless accompanied by a properly equipped and economical administration, as has been already set forth in the description and definition of the Company's interests in this country. These must be regulated, so that even though the profit be small, the Company may be no loser. In my well-known letter of January 12, 1737, to Their Honours the Chamber of Seventeen, about which such an unusual fuss was made, I had clearly shown already that even the cinnamon would be of little advantage to the Company if it had to be obtained at a deficit of a few hundred thousand guilders yearly, not to speak of all the trouble and precaution demanded by an administration like this, which is deranged every four or five years. This fact, so far as I know, has never been contradicted, still less has the contrary been proved. The administration must therefore not only be suitably adapted to the needs, but must also be economical if it is to be successful. Although I feel loath to take credit to myself for having succeeded in securing either of these conditions during my rule, having on the contrary had more trouble with regard to the latter point than any

of my predecessors, yet I would mention that, as regards the first point, I found on my arrival the Government of the island, which is otherwise well known for its good regulation, ill-adapted to the circumstances, and most irregular in many respects. Having had so much trouble in rectifying the many irregularities and mending the general decay which appeared on all sides, I would not pretend to have succeeded in redressing every evil. I would, on the contrary, much rather acknowledge that a great deal remains to be done by my successor, viz., Your Excellency, and I would endeavour to assist you by expressing my opinion, as the occasion demands, in the course of my observations in the fourth and last chapter of this dissertation on the Company's interests in this country. It will be subdivided into two parts, with a view to avoid confusion; to carry on a suitable administration and at the same time to do this economically are two distinct matters. The one or other condition may be fulfilled independently of the other, but, in my opinion, it is the combination of both that goes to constitute the best government.

The administration must be suitably equipped if the Company's interests are to prosper in this country. All the wheels of its complex machinery must be made to move smoothly, if the system is to remain in working order. The concatenation of the parts of this political body would no less be interfered with in the case of the derangement of a part, as that of the physical body when any one of its members is ailing or suffering.

The first and most important qualification in such a body is surely its spirituality, not so much in the ordinary application of the word as in its proper sense. This should be so if that is to be considered the chief object of man's habitation on earth. I refer here to religion.

The increasing restlessness of man all around, and, alas, here in the Company's service also, makes it more and more a secondary matter! So far indeed is this the case that one person writes about it as if it were a matter of indifference, while another looks upon it as a means for restraining the people, and thus converts it into a political matter. Others consider it more suitable to the ordinary man than to the ruling power, and others again disregard it entirely and give it no attention at all.

I do not pretend to be a reformer of the degraded sentiments and morals of an evil world. That would be a charge too heavy for any one to undertake; nor was this document commenced with such a purpose. I beg permission, however, to raise the question here whether the Creator of the earth would have brought man into the world solely that he might live as

he pleased, without ever doing anything for Him from whom he derived his existence? Would He have placed all things under his feet and given him everything without expecting any return? Would he have raised or set apart a distinct class as rulers, who were to have dominion over others, without having any voice in their actions Himself, or without expecting them to do something for Him? Yea, lastly, would He have made subject to our authorities and the Dutch East India Company those countries in remote quarters of the earth which their eyes had never seen nor their ears heard of, simply to enable them to exalt and enrich themselves, without demanding due acknowledgment of His authority by the extension of the Heavenly Kingdom on this earth? No reply seems to me is necessary to these questions; because it stands to reason that God must be served, not only because He has commanded so, but even because this service is fit and proper, and even necessary for mankind; desirable now, and profitable hereafter. If these questions are to be decided by human reason, the answer could only be that the contrary will be both unlikely and unsuitable.

Nevertheless the slow progress of this most important work in many places proves that but little attention is paid to it. With regard to the Dutch East Indies, all those who would take a general view of Christianity here will find but little reason to wonder at the small progress of Christ's Kingdom during the century or more that we have been peaceably settled here. Those who would pass on from this general contemplation to a particular consideration of the subject as it relates to Ceylon, will observe with sadness that this Church of the Lord, this Zion, which ought to be in a flourishing condition after so many years, can only be looked upon as a foreigner in Mesech, living in the tents of Kedar, as a sterile and lonely one who has but few children, as a small hut in the vineyard, and a shelter in the cucumber garden, as a nearly deserted and uninhabited town, although it will be a century on the 13th of next March that we have by Divine sufferance dwelled here, having obtained a firm footing on this side of the island.

Since the Lord has given such a long period of rest to this country, it is not meet that He should any longer dwell in a cedar house, nor should the covenant be lodged in a tent. A show is made by speech and correspondence of the great efforts made to promote this work, where indeed more of the reality is needed. This would be easily secured, because we live among a nation that is by no means so obstinate and invincible on this point, and where the opportunity for the foundation of a Church pleasing to God must be considered more favourable than anywhere else; because we are much

nearer to it here, on account of our absolute sovereignty in the country.

This is the condition in which I found God's Church in Ceylon, and in nearly the same state must I, to my regret, leave it to Your Excellency ; because the good intentions of a single regent can avail but little in such circumstances ; and just as little will matters improve merely because everybody commiserates the condition of things and wishes they were otherwise. This is no better than telling the needy, "Go in peace, be warm and fed." Other and more powerful means must be employed, and therefore we must pray that it may please the Lord of the Vineyard himself to dispose men's minds so that the lack of zeal in this cause and the decay of the Church may not be the omens of God's wrath and anger, and the Company in the East may not at last find its ruin in the increasing plagues, just as its rise has been wonderful in the eyes of men ; yea, that passers-by may not say : "See the country where the Lord was not feared ! " May the good God mercifully prevent this and never bring it to pass.

If then this work is to be carried on more zealously, so that the Lord's wrath may not come down upon us. the means must be employed which will further this end. In the improvement of these I hope I have not been idle. May the Lord grant them success.

The first and chief requirement is certainly the increase of the knowledge of God among this people by the propagation of His word in a language they will understand. Therefore. the printing press established during my administration will be a useful instrument.

I will not detain Your Excellency by a discussion relating to the first beginning of this important work ; of the trouble it caused, and how at length these difficulties were overcome. Although it was only in May, 1737, that a commencement was made with the type, yet already have been published a Sinhalese prayer book, a booklet in the same language for the instruction of those who wish to partake of the Lord's Supper, catechisms in Mallabaar, and the four Gospels in Sinhalese ; while a commencement has been made with the New Testament in Mallabaar. A second press is being fitted up, which must be completed during Your Excellency's administration, not only with a view to avoid inconvenience in the event of the other getting out of order, but also with a view to facilitate the work by the fair progress of the revision of the books of the New Testament in the Mallabaar language, according to our Resolution of January 9 last. At present the following persons are engaged in the work of revision :—The Rev. Mr. Kramer, two commissioned members of the Consistory, two Mallabaar

Proponents, and as many natives as could be found who understand the language. We hope the work will sufficiently advance before the next change of the monsoon at the end of March, to enable the Rev. Mr. Kramer to return to his parish in Jaffnapatam. The printing of the part that has been revised may go on without a break until he can return for a time in the autumn. In that case the press could be employed for two years at a stretch for the Mallabaar language only, and therefore a second press would be useful for the reprinting of the booklet containing the creed, 2,100 copies of which were published in the first edition—a quantity which has proved insufficient. Besides this, it is necessary to print catechisms both in Sinhalese and in Mallabaar, not such as are used at present in the schools, consisting of five parts and containing about 1,500 questions, among which are found many repetitions and unnecessary extensions, but one book in two parts, the one for beginners, in the style of the short questions in the appendix to our Bible, and the other a little more extended for the use of those more advanced. This work is very urgently needed, and must be taken in hand as soon as we can obtain the assistance of some of the clergy; so that the five old catechisms may be abandoned in the schools and the new book introduced in their place. This will make the study easier for the children. There ought to be printed also in Sinhalese the formulæ of the Liturgies of our Church, the greater part of which has been translated already, and is preserved and used in the churches written on ola. Then must also be completed the Psalms of David, of which only the 23rd and the 51st have been translated into Sinhalese verse; also the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Song of Solomon. These are sung only in Cotta at the three-monthly service for the administration of the Holy Sacrament, although I have ordered the clergymen at Caliture and Negombo to do the same at the three-monthly services there.

But to return to the printing press. I cannot recommend that good work too earnestly to Your Excellency, because, even if other auxiliaries be found wanting, this would open the way for the building up of a worthy Church by the awakening of true interest.

The Seminary here is at present in a flourishing condition, and will turn out good helpers in the course of time under the care and zeal of the Rev. Mr. Wetzelius, of whose zeal in extending Christ's Kingdom among the natives, his capabilities, and his devotion to that work, I cannot speak too highly. He has learned the language of the natives, and is thus enabled to conduct services for the administration of the Holy Sacrament

four times a year in the three places mentioned. According to our Resolution of April 17, 1737, he ought also to preach God's word on ordinary Sundays, at least now and again; but his work in the Training School has prevented his doing so, especially now that he misses the assistance of the co-rector Vrolyk, who will leave with me to return to the Netherlands *viâ* Batavia, with a view to obtain a higher clerical qualification than it seems he could obtain here. The latter also deserves great credit for the successful way in which he has taught Latin and Greek in the Seminary. It was surprising to hear the dusky youths, who knew no Dutch, or at least did not understand a word of it on my arrival here (although so much had been written regarding the work of the Seminary), now speak Latin, and work at their Greek with an interest which promises much good for the future. It is only to be hoped that this good beginning will be continued. The Rev. Mr. Wetzelius, as Rector, has promised to do his best towards this end; but there is no doubt that the work will prove too much for him alone. It would therefore be desirable that a capable man should be found to take the place of the departing co-rector. The Rev. Mr. Wetzelius would have himself to select such a person, and submit his name to Your Excellency, because, as the saying goes, "All wood is not timber."

The third of the means for promoting this holy work is in the least satisfactory condition, it having been quite beyond my power to further it. I refer to a more extensive preaching of the Word of Life among the natives. For, to carry out this work, we require men of suitable capabilities, and although I have done my part towards the training of men for this work for the future, both by the introduction of improvements in the methods of teaching in the Seminary and by proposing other reforms in our last advises to the Netherlands, according to our Resolution of November 21 last, this does not help us for the present. We require more ministers, and these must be men who take a greater interest in their work—not men who merely keep this vineyard from being overgrown: as seems to me the only effect of all the writing and preaching among so many Christians. We now want men who will thoroughly dig up the garden and sow the seed of the Word of Salvation, so that it may bear fruit. In one word, we require ministers who will learn Portuguese, as well as the Sinhalese and Tamil languages, and work among these people. Otherwise, how can we expect to oppose the Popish errors and their heathen idolatory? No better means could be employed to give people zeal and love for the Word of God. Its influence would also be beneficial towards the welfare of the Company, if it be permitted to unite political reasons with

religious; because it is in the interest of the Company to free its subjects from the power of the Popish clergy. This is a power that is stronger than that of worldly rulers, and is a source of apprehension and danger. On the other hand, we could perhaps by a more extensive preaching of the Word of Life instil in the minds of the people more devotion towards their earthly rulers, as I have long wished it might be. We might then do away with such coercive measures as fines, which I disapprove of so strongly, and which is such a source of annoyance to the inhabitants and prejudicial to the Company. If this yoke of the power of the Church could be removed from the natives, I think this Colony, and especially Jaffnapatam, would flourish more than it ever did before.

But time does not permit me to treat of this subject at length, although indeed it is of too great importance to be but partly dealt with. I have made these observations only *en passant*, and reserve what else I have to say for a future occasion, when I hope to state my opinions more clearly, if it should please the Lord to place me again in the Council of India. I would recommend to Your Excellency the execution of my orders on this subject contained in my mandate ola of May 21, 1738, published both here and in Galle and Matura, where instructions on this matter are given.

This is all I am able to state at present with regard to the Church. Much more might be said, but these are the most important points. The limits of this manuscript do not permit of my entering into more detail.

Next in order to providing for religion, a well-ordered administration requires attention to be paid to the no less important duty incumbent on all authorities of seeing that justice is done. This is the principal support of the State; it is that by which each individual is protected and civil peace is preserved.

The highest judicial resort in this island is the Court of Justice of this Castle. Appeal from outstations is made to this court, and from it again to Batavia in all civil and criminal processes which exceed the specified amount. As to the interpretation of the rules regarding this point, I refer Your Excellency to the reply received from Their Excellencies at Batavia bearing date August 12, 1738, in answer to our request of April 30, 1738, for a fuller explanation on the subject. I hope that Your Excellency may better understand the matter than I do, and that you may thus surmount the difficulties caused to me by the question being left unanswered. I for my part maintain that the amount mentioned is to be understood to refer only to money, and that all other matters, such as privileges, duties, and properties, which derive their value from the estimate people put upon them, are not included in it.

For the rest, I willingly admit that the inclination of people in this country for recourse to law ought to be checked as much as possible. This is all I have to say with regard to the administration of justice.

Policy, as applied to the conduct of the administration, should not mean skill in government, which many, not understanding the force of the word, take it to be, but rather that care in civil matters which maintains in an easy and pleasant order everything that pertains to social intercourse and makes it profitable. Therefore, it must also find its place in this Government if such Government is to be successfully carried on, and it is as necessary a factor as religion and justice, although I have mentioned these first in the order of my observations regarding the Government.

The Political Council is sometimes also called the Council of Policy,* although this is hardly a correct designation, it being right only in so far that politics include policy, as the greater includes the less. In that sense the Political Council could be called a Council of Policy, although in reality this assembly, with the Governor as its President, or in the absence of the Governor, the next person in authority, represents the Government of this island. Besides the Governor it usually consists of eight members, sometimes less, but never more, elected from among the highest officers, including the *Kooplieden.*† All this is well known and has been often explained, so that there is no need of my mentioning the facts here. To explain to Your Excellency what matters ought to be referred to the Council and what matters the Governor is permitted to decide by himself would be equally unnecessary and impossible; unnecessary, because experience will teach you more than can be set down for your guidance; impossible, because there are no strict rules on this point. Experience would, in fact, teach any sensible Governor that he ought to avoid as far as possible taking upon himself the sole responsibility, and if he is a wise man, he will know besides that apart from this an individual ought to trust to himself as little as possible, but that he ought on the other hand never to reject advice, because in doing so he would be disregarding those whose duty it is to give it.

The name Political Council also seems more significant than Council of Policy, although the latter title is more extensive, and includes also the lesser Colleges, viz. :—

The Orphan Chamber, the Commissioners of Marriage Causes, the Civil Town Council, and even the wards of the

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* *Raad van Politie.*

† Plural of *Koopman*, literally merchant, but here used to denote a superior grade of the Civil Service.

Castle or town, who also form a sort of College. The duty of the first is the administration of orphans' estates; that of the second of demanding the observation of the civil ordinances with regard to marriage affairs; of the third that of settling small differences among the inhabitants; while the last are charged with the duty of supervising the respective wards of the Castle and the town, the details of which are well known and not of great importance. What the Governor has to do with regard to these is to see that all the wheels of the machinery are kept going and not allowed to rust. Experience alone will teach what further is required.

There are two other Colleges besides the above, which might more properly have been mentioned when treating of the subject of the Church; I mean:—

1. The Consistory, which both here and in the provincial stations consists of ministers, elders, deacons, and, as is usual, a *Commissioner Politic*, who, on behalf of the Political Council, supervise the affairs of the Church.

2. The College of the *Scholarchen*, which consists of members of the Political Council in addition to the clergymen. The Dessave always acts as President, while the arrangements are the same in all stations, except of the provincial stations; Galle makes an exception, for special reasons. Here the Administrateur, as second in civil authority, is President. Nothing particular is to be said about these two Colleges, except that the practise is at the close of each meeting to write a report of all transactions for submission to His Excellency the Governor. The Resolutions of the meetings of the *Scholarchen* have also not only to be submitted to but sanctioned by His Excellency the Governor, by his approbation being noted in the margin. These meetings are to be held as far as possible every month, so that those who apply for assistance may receive attention. Sometimes, however, they have to be put off on account of the absence of the President or some of the members.

Another indispensable requisite in a well-ordered Government, which may in itself be called a pious and charitable duty, is the providing for the poor and the suffering. The first of these usually comes under the charge of—

The *Diaconate*, which has been in a more flourishing condition during my administration than before, in consequence of a favourable disposal of some old accounts by Their Excellencies as contained in the letter of August 12, 1738, in reply to ours of April 30. The Poor Fund, deposited at present with the Company, thus amounts to Rds. 11,000, which, perhaps, it never reached before. In Jaffnapatam the fund is well provided

for, although the money outstanding among the inhabitants from the year 1730 is not very profitably laid out. This money must be gradually drawn in, so that this poor country, which already has to find so much of ready money for the Company, may not be entirely exhausted. In Galle the poor are but meagrely provided for, but they do not have to pay there as much as they have to do here. The exact account of the Fund may be found in the Compendiums, so that I need not expand on the subject here.

The Leper Asylum is situated on an isolated piece of land at the mouth of the Mutwal river. It has its own fund, which is fairly well provided for, although it is rather on a decrease. It has its own regents to administer it. By Resolution of July 23 last year, permanent inspectors have been appointed for the isolation of these miserable people from the community, and they are authorized to summon suspected persons before them, or have them searched for or visited. When any are found to be suffering from the disease they are confined in the said building, although in some cases it is permitted to isolate the patients from other people in gardens, provided it is guaranteed that the rules will be complied with. These measures are strictly necessary. Of the administration of this fund, as of that of the *Diaconate*, a yearly account is rendered.

There are also native orphan chambers, both here and in Galle, the latter having been instituted by me, for the administration of estates of native Christians; but among the Moors and heathen the chiefs usually act as the guardians, although most of these people, even the best among them, are hardly to be trusted. It would be well, therefore, to see if some reform could be introduced in this matter. There was one particular case which first drew my attention to this subject, and undoubtedly Your Excellency will also come across such cases.

But enough with regard to political and civil requirements, for the preservation of the community. The purpose of these is the *maintenance of* the State, which was founded before religion or justice were founded, and to preserve it in such a manner as will best further the interests of the Company as the lord of the land. Thus security within being assured as far as the people are concerned, we must also think of our security with regard to matters outside.

To be a perfect administration it must be such that nothing is wanting either with regard to its trade, its maintenance, or its defences. Of all these such particulars will have to be mentioned here which do not appear in our yearly report and might be of use to Your Excellency.

The strength of the garrisons in this island, which was originally settled by statute to consist of 2,200 men for all stations together, has always been and is still a point of contention with regard to the garrisoning of the fortifications.

Some have wished at times to defend these by the foot; although here in India this does not seem so necessary; because it seldom happens that the ground is disputed inch by inch.* I think that 800 men for Colombo and the outstations, 300 for Jaffnapatam and Manaar, 300 for Galle and Matura, 100 for Trincomalee and Batticaloa, 100 for the opposite coast, and 50 for Calpentyn, making 1,650 men altogether, would, in times of peace, be quite sufficient for the protection of our possessions. This is really the purpose for which these garrisons are maintained. But Ceylon has of late been always called upon to assist Coromandel, instead of obtaining assistance from there, as was usual before my arrival here, on account of which this garrison has to be somewhat larger. Still, allowing 150 men for this purpose, I should think that 1,800 men for all purposes would quite do, provided aid were sent immediately from Batavia in case of danger. This would be a better plan, as it is not in the interests of the Company to maintain expensive fortifications and troublesome garrisons, although the former, being in good condition for defence all over the island, would not cost so very much. The upkeep of the latter is however expensive, and it seems to me that from the commencement this has been kept up on too large a scale. Yet, in case of war with any of the European Powers, I think Ceylon would require even a few thousand men more than the 2,200 allowed.

The strongest point in favour of Ceylon is the fact that it is an island, and that it would, therefore, be not so easy to attack it or lay siege to its fortifications. Otherwise some defects in the fortifications might have to be pointed out, as I explained in my journal of last year with regard to Trincomalee. The same applies to the bay of Galle, as stated in my journal of the year 1737. Even Colombo, in the event of danger, ought to be protected by small redoubts at Hulftsdorp and Wolvendaal, where the Portuguese, very properly, had a line of entrenchments as shown in the old map; because the summit of that eminence commands all the surrounding parts towards the east, south, and north-east, and it may thus be made inaccessible from the lake to the seashore. The same might be done on the south by a good entrenchment right across the

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* "*De Fortificatien, die men wel eens by de voeten wilde defenderen, dat egter hier in Indien, daar men malkander het terrain selden by de voet bedisputeert, so nodig niet schynt te weesen.*"

road to Galle somewhere about the garden where the Commandeurs are usually received,* or a little further on where a branch of the tank near the dhoby quarters runs so near the road that the passage could be completely cut off by a line of 40 or 50 *roeden*.† This, provided with sufficient ordnance and with the trees felled down, would make an attack on the Castle almost impossible.

But, as stated already, Ceylon is an island, and therefore so difficult of attack that the precautions I have mentioned may never be necessary. Yet, precaution is as much a requirement in a ruler as courage, and the well known axiom, "*Quod tempore pacis de bello cogitandum sit*," taken it is said from the inscription above the door of the arsenal at Venice—"*felix est civitas que tempore pacis de bello cogitæ*"—may well be observed here with advantage before difficulties arise. This would especially apply to the fortifications of the bay of Galle, a work which could not be carried out in a hurry if the necessity suddenly arose, and for which orders from Their Excellencies, our superiors, are expected.

But this same advantage as to the situation of the island is a drawback as regards protection by military forces alone. Yachts, sloops, and other vessels are required to convey all necessaries from outside, and to keep up the communication, especially with the opposite coast. To man these vessels sailors are required. For this purpose formerly recruits were sent from Batavia, because the number of men who came out in the Company's service was not sufficient to replace those who had to be sent back to the Netherlands in the manning of the returning vessels. During my administration, however, recruits from Batavia have been rather scarce, and our number of sailors has considerably fallen off. On this account our own vessels and those that return to Holland are but sparingly manned, and only a few men can be employed in the rope yards both here and in Galle. The former of these rope yards has been closed for some time, while in the latter hardly any work is going on. Meantime the demand for cables has so considerably increased that all the sailors in the island together could not make enough to supply the demand, even if they had nothing else to do. With a view to avoid our being encumbered with too much old rope, we loaded the vessel "Abbekerk," bound for Batavia, with a large quantity of it for the preservation of cinnamon, since there was no Mallabaar pepper to be used for this purpose, as decided by Resolution of February 12 last. We hope this will be successful. Perhaps

* On their visits to Colombo by the "land way."

† Rhenish roods.

Their Excellencies will have a better opportunity of getting these cables made in India itself, in the island of Edam or elsewhere, as there is no prospect of our being able to get them done here for some time.

At present vessels also are scarce here. During my administration we lost the vessel "Zeeland's Welvaren," which was taken by the "Augreanen," and although the Mallabaar yacht "Ceylon's Voorspoed" was sent from Batavia to replace it, and we are expecting from Cochin the new yacht "Catherina Magdalena," yet Your Excellency will find that out of these yachts and smaller vessels present here it will be difficult to spare any for the service of Government at Coromandel during the time that this coast is passable, as used to be the practise, with a view to save expense to that Government, which has already to bear such heavy burdens.

For it is by these vessels that all the necessaries are taken to and from the subaltern stations. Therefore, those vessels which at present do not belong to this Government but yet cannot be spared from the work carried on under it, must be applied for in proper time.

Applications for requirements from the Netherlands and from Batavia, which are the same here as elsewhere, need not be described in detail. The two chief items are :—

Cash for trade with the opposite coast, of which there is so much in hand at present that it would be desirable to profitably invest some of this large amount; and

Rice for the feeding of the garrisons, the applications for which have decreased since the year 1737 from 1,000 to 400 lasts.* This quantity has been again lately applied for. If the full quantity is sent, and the new rules be introduced here for increasing the production of nely, it may be hoped that with the blessing of Almighty God Your Excellency would next year require only 300 lasts, and that the quantity would every year become less, which is most desirable, because the Company's vessels have already to bring so many other things from Batavia.

I must remark here with regard to the cash, that of the large sum of Fl. 1,475,804.8 contained in the Treasury on August 31 last, and to which has since been added 10,000 Ducats sent from Holland, but which has been nearly paid out again for want of Pagodas, and also Fl. 30,000 set apart for Mallabaar in compliance with the orders of Their Excellencies, while Fl. 687,838.15.8 represent the value of *Payementen*,† issued prior to the increase of cash, and which have to be met

* A last was equal to nearly 53 bushels.
† Promissory or currency notes.

on demand, these might have been somewhat less, as pointed out by me already on a previous occasion. Yet, there is not much risk or danger of loss to the Company in this, except that so much money is lying idle without interest, because out of all this cash which consists of the said coin there is but Rds. 12,823½ which has been received at the higher currency, while the rest has been received from Holland and entered in the books at the old value. The Rds. 61,809¼ about which the widow of the late Mr. van Domburgh is still in litigation with the Company must, in my opinion, be left untouched until the case is decided, although for some time there will be no opportunity of investing all that money, unless it be circulated again among the inhabitants. This I do not consider advisable on account of the frequent clipping of the coins, to which we are subject here as much as any where else in India. I therefore contented myself with the issue and receipt of *duyten* on behalf of the Company, with as many Pagodas as we could collect together. Of the latter, Your Excellency will find a sufficient stock at Jaffnapatam, which does not appear to be in demand in Coromandel. Otherwise it is natural to suppose that this cash would be employed in the trade there. On the other hand, they yearly apply for gold to Batavia. This is only a passing observation, as it is a matter that does not concern us.

Another important item, as a necessary evil for the protection of our trade and Government, must also be included, viz., our store of gunpowder in this island. The stock of this has somewhat improved and increased during my administration, because at the end of August, 1736, the quantity in the Colombo cellars was only 50,970 lb., while last February it was 77,891 lb. Yet I have not succeeded in bringing it up to the quantity required. Colombo ought to be provided with 150,000 lb., Jaffnapatam with 50,000 lb., Galle with 70,000 lb., Trincomalee and Batticaloa with 50,000 lb., and the minor stations, such as those on the opposite coast, Calpetty, Manaar, &c., with at least 30,000 lb. This would amount in all to 350,000 lb. This is a great deal more than the 143,606¾ lb. which forms the present store of all the stations in this island together, as stated in our last advices to the Netherlands. There seems to be no chance of increasing this quantity so long as the well of the Colombo mill is not thoroughly repaired, because there is in it an invisible leak which I, as well as some of my predecessors, have frequently endeavoured to trace, without any result worth mentioning. This work is not only necessary, but will also be worth the trouble and expense, because this mill, with the new wheel and water-course which I had made for it, working day and night according to the rule lately introduced, could now turn

out 100,000 lb. of gunpowder a year. This has been proved during the last four months, when 33,500 lb. were made. Thus, perhaps, sufficient powder might be made not only for the wants of Ceylon, which requires about 50,000 lb. a year, and for increasing the store there, but also for Mallabaar, and this without making any at Galle or Jaffnapatam, where the work can be done but imperfectly. For these reasons this work ought to be one of the first to be undertaken. The officials at Jaffnapatam intend to modify the construction of their grinding mill according to the one at Galle, but it might be used for some time yet as it is at present.

The repairs which are being carried on at present are the re-building of the Dutch Reformed Church,* which is nearly completed, and the ships' equipment warehouse, which Your Excellency will have to see completed, because we have been able only to build the four walls and the pillars for the support of arches, on account of the difficulty in obtaining the necessary materials. When the building is completed a new wall must be built around it on the outer side of the Battenburg bastion leading to the *waterpas*, with a small projection towards the seaside. As soon as this wing is finished, the other half of the building, which was partly but imperfectly rebuilt during the administration of Governor Pielat, must be taken in hand, and its present roof must be replaced by an arched roof as was done in the other part, in order to protect it against the sea. This work having been executed, the next thing will be the careful repair of the *waterpas* of *Matrosenpunt*, which had been condemned so far back as 1733; and this being done, the new pier may be added to it according to the plan that I leave behind. This pier has been a long-felt want, and the Dessave has been ordered to obtain the timber required for it from the interior. By means of this new pier we hope that the loading and unloading of vessels may become easier, and that perhaps the yachts with their full freight, if they cannot reach, may at least approach so close to the pier, that much labour may be saved. At present this is the most miserable landing place I have seen anywhere in the service of the Company, which makes it necessary to keep even the smallest sloop at anchor in the harbour to be unloaded by means of a ponton, just as if it were a large ship, because there is usually no more than a depth of 5 or 6 feet of water near the pier, while most of the small vessels when loaded require 7 or 8 feet, the yachts 10 or 11, and other vessels in proportion. With the new pier at the

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* This could hardly refer to Wolvendaal Church, which was built at a much later date, 1749.

Matrosenpunt there will be 10 to 12 feet of water, and at the end of it, where it will be deepest, even a yacht might anchor in fine weather.

The other repairs besides that of the church which require attention are those of the dwelling houses at Hulftsdorp. Half of these have been completed, and now the other wing must be commenced. These buildings are to serve, not so much as a dwelling house for the Dessave, as warehouses for the storing of pepper, coffee, and other products of the country which are to be transported afterwards by vessels from the Pass Sebastian across the tank to within the town. At present they are transported by carts—a means which later on will be no longer practicable.

The above is the manner in which the Government is carried on here (Colombo). It is the same in the subaltern stations also, where at present no important repairs are on hand, and with regard to which nothing further is to be mentioned than what has been already stated. They have, however, this point in common with the chief station, viz., that the wheels of the large machinery are worked by human hands, and these must therefore be kept going without intermission.

They whose duty it is to keep this machinery going are, or ought to be, the Company's servants, both here and elsewhere, although some of them rather need to be driven themselves than are able to impart power of motion to others; but the old proverb says "We must row with the oars we have." General carelessness is the mother of all incapability, and laziness and indolence are the causes of general decay. Such a state of affairs is deplorable, but must not make us despond, because, as opposed to those whom I have referred to, there may be found others who have an honourable ambition, and do not deserve to be classified with the former. These seek according to their capabilities to excel the others and to earn their daily bread, and whatever else it may please the Lord to bestow on them.

We must not therefore give way to our despondency, although we sometimes feel inclined to exclaim: "The wise and the foolish receive the same treatment; as the one is dealt with, so is the other!" Such considerations do not make right what is wrong, and would only weary us.

This complaint of the wisest of all kings is indeed applicable to the Government of the Dutch Company in Ceylon. But the same Solomon has also taught us that, "There is nothing new under the sun;" so may we console ourselves with the thought that the same complaints have been heard before, and most likely will continue to be heard after we have passed away, for this is the general excuse of all those who do not like

to hear them, and is the testimony also of the Roman poet who said, and perhaps would say if he lived in our time, "*Aetas parentum, pejoravis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem.*" Nothing would change this idea. Therefore, whichever way we may turn, it comes back to the same point, of rowing with the oars we have in the vessel which is almost sinking from old age and decay. This I have to leave to Your Excellency as the principal axiom.

With regard to the Company's servants here or under the dependencies of this Government, I will not enter into a specification of their functions and of what relates thereto. These are learned soon enough when dealing with the various matters of the administration. I may therefore save myself this trouble, and only state here in general that the number of employés in Ceylon is rather too large, if not superfluous; that the ranks of the *pennisten*, and especially of the handicrafts men, greatly need the reform lately introduced by me. These proposals must be sent to Batavia for approbation as a provisional Ordinance, forming an annexure to this document. A like reform among the handicraftsmen at Colombo will be still more necessary as soon as time will permit this introduction. This, however, will take a few years yet.

This new arrangement was suggested by a circular order issued to all stations, at least in the western part of the island, where I was at the time, by Their Excellencies at Batavia in the year 1737, which called for a list of the really necessary officers, so that Their Excellencies might by means of it formulate a new Ordinance. This proposition, which I could not remember having here discussed in the Council of India before my departure hence hardly a year previous, seemed to me of too great importance for me to be able to comply with it so soon, especially as I myself had been here only a year, and therefore could not enter sufficiently into the matter as to enable me to judge which officers would be really required, or to adopt any list which might be compiled by others.

I therefore considered it best to temporize with the matter until I was able to judge for myself. This my general circular of 1738 enabled me to do to a certain extent; for then I began to see that there were too many officers in some places, especially among the clerks; but I did not understand then that the incapability of the officers was due to their large number. I saw that with a smaller number of capable men more work might easily be done, but I was not convinced then that the superfluous number had so much to do with the state of disorganization.

All this I discovered gradually as I became more acquainted with the details of the administration of this Government,

both with regard to the work that is to be done and the persons by whom it is to be carried out. Comparing the present condition of things with that of former years, I found here the same general decay that I found to have crept in in other respects during the last few years. I also found that assistance is given more through favour than on account of necessity, and not without endless delay and continual importunities, which do not cease until the petitioner has obtained his wish. I also found that the number of officers has been increased from year to year, although the number of soldiers and sailors for the defences and other necessary works is insufficient; so that in these two respects matters are worse than they were before, while on the other hand, the Company is burdened with a number of people who are not required for its purposes, which fact certainly ought not to be tolerated any longer.

I have also to plead guilty in this matter, as well as my predecessors, because the appeals made by a great many people on my visits perhaps induced me out of misplaced charity to appoint some who were not really required, not in the interest of the Company, but because they believed they ought to get a living. I may thus have helped to promote an already existing abuse. I have endeavoured to make amends for this as far as possible, beginning with Colombo, by dispensing with the superfluous number of clerks in the various offices according to the work that was to be done there, allowing those who were dismissed to serve the Company with the musket instead of the pen. Some have also been employed at sea, and others who preferred it were entirely discharged from the service of the Company. The same was done in Jaffnapatam and Galle, with the assistance of the *Commandeurs*, where as a preparation a special list was required and received of all the officers, with a statement of the duties performed by each at present as compared with their former duties, and with a reference to those duties which were really necessary. The same was done in Tutucorin, Calpetty, and the eastern districts, and the special list annexed will suggest to Your Excellency what is to be done in the matter in the outstations. In Colombo reform is also needed in respect to the handicraftsmen, but at the request of the Master of the Workmen I have put off introducing any, and left this to be done by Your Excellency, on account of the extra work now in hand. As soon as this is completed a change must be made, because it seems unlikely that so many more men would be required in Colombo now than previous to the year 1729. Since then 180 or 190 men have been permanently employed in the arsenal, the smiths', the braziers', and the coopers' workshops,

and in the ship-building and house-building yards, besides two master masons, who all receive fixed salaries from the Company. I cannot think that all these are required, because formerly no more than 70, 80, or 90 men were employed for all these workshops together, and I agree with those who argue that each man at that time did twice as much work, or that twice as much attention was paid to these matters as now, and that even the master workmen were twice as capable.

Here then is reform necessary in the interests of the Company. And with a view to prevent a continuance or recurrence of the evil I have referred to this matter, which is of no small magnitude, as will be seen when once the reform is effected and things are arranged on a better basis. I think it would be well that the following limitations were introduced, which would serve to preserve the authority of the chief ruler of the island, and save him the unpleasantness of refusing requests over and over again, or of the alternative of doing things which were better left undone, viz. :—

1. That no one is to be employed in the Company's service, even as apprentice clerk,* which in itself and within certain limits is good and useful, but under the designation of soldier or sailor, on the customary salary of 9 guilders if above the age of 15 years, of 8 guilders if between 12 and 15 years, and at no more than 5 or 6 guilders if still younger, on making an agreement for ten years, by which he is to receive the salary of 9 guilders when half of that period is expired.

2. That any one having been employed on the salary of 9 guilders will serve the full period of the agreement at the same pay and allowances, being precluded from applying for an increase even where he happened to work in one of the workshops or as a clerk. To this rule no exception is to be made even in the case of the children of Europeans,† because it is a sufficient favour to be received into the service of the Company to serve these first five years at that salary.

3. In other respects the orders of Their Excellencies are to remain in full force, so that those who are received as clerks, when Europeans or children of Europeans, would receive the assistant's allowance. This applies to the case of persons who arriving here in the Company's service are appointed as clerks, and to the case of persons who, being the children of European fathers, have entered the service here and have served their period in the militia or in the navy, while the others are to

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* *Aankwekeling by de pen*, *Soldaat by de pen*, and *Matroos by de pen.*

† In the Company's service only those actually born in Europe were Europeans; the children of a European father and mother were described as *Poesties*, their descendants of European blood were *Casties.*

continue on the terms on which they were employed at the time of their first agreement. This will be the rule so long as the distinction between the children of European fathers and others remains in force.

4. As regards the clerks, any one who has come from the Netherlands and has served for the period of his first agreement, receiving allowances during the period, ought, after having given proof of his ability, to receive the increased pay of Fl. 24 as permanent assistant* for a period of five years, neither more nor less; although all manner of rates of payment are to be met with here for junior, provisional, and permanent assistants, as for instance of Fl. 16 for five years, Fl. 16 for three years, Fl. 20 for five years, and Fl. 24 for three years, while bookkeepers† also receive an increase before their period is out. All these are matters which ought not to occur in a well ordered administration. The assistants ought to be promoted after a period of five years to bookkeepers on a salary of Fl. 30 for the period of three years, having then served the Company for thirteen years since their arrival here.

5. That the artificers whom we are often obliged to draw from the militia and the navy ought, as far as the Europeans who came out are concerned, to receive an increase of half their wages, in terms of the rules of the Company, but they must first prove their ability. The same rules apply to those who enter the service in the surgery or in any other c pacity besides th t of clerk. They ought to first serve six months on probation to prove that they deserve the increase and that the Company is not deceived in them, which otherwise may easily happen, especially here, where many do not serve the Company for the sake of the work, but simply for the sake of the salary. To these the increased pay which they receive for the extra work they do would be an inducement. The allowances, however, may be granted at once, and this is a sufficient advantage until the time for the increase of salaries arrives. The pretext of their having to buy clothes, tools, &c., which is so often brought forward as an excuse for an earlier increase, does not hold good. These artificers and others who receive two different salaries ought, at the expiration of their first agreement, to serve for another three years on full pay; this is not a hard condition, because in this way they only serve the Company nine or eleven years, according as they came out under an agreement for five or three years.

6. That on the other hand, under native children are understood all those who are born of parents who are natives of India. When these are received into the service as clerks,

* *Absoluut Adsistent.* † *Boekhouders.*

they must serve first five years, according to the agreement, and may then enter into a new contract for twelve or fifteen years on a salary of 8 or 9 guilders, with allowances accordingly. At the end of this period they are entitled to the full allowances of an assistant, provided they do not already receive that on account of any special concession made by Their Excellencies in the individual cases of such as are promoted to the office of junior assistant on a salary of Fl. 16 or Fl. 20, according to merit, for the time of three years. Next to this follows the class of assistants, with a salary of Fl. 24 for the period of five years, of which period no remission is to be made in the case of those who are passing through the various offices. The next promotion is to that of *Boekhouder* (Bookkeeper), with the distinction that they have to serve five years instead of three. Thus, a young man entering the Company's service at the age of twelve years, when completing this last period of his service will have served the Company for eighteen years, which he will bring into account in the course of time, while he would be only thirty years of age; and he will have received during the last period more guilders per month than he can count years. His service will have been five years longer than that of a grown-up person coming out from Europe, so that his time of actual service would be rather shorter than longer as compared with that of the latter.

7. Lastly, those who are employed in handicrafts or other functions entering the service here have a right to the half increase mentioned above at the expiration of their first agreement and when making a new contract for the time of three years, with allowances according to their rank. At the expiration of that period they may enter upon a new period of five years on the lowest salary fixed for the respective offices, with an increase every five years. Those born in this country, and who entered the service here, will receive half the increase stated in the regulations. This will secure a longer period of service, and will do away with the constant petitions for increase of salary. It will also be quite just, because they are usually less capable than Europeans. With them also there is no wish or need of going home, so that once they reach the point where they receive the highest salary their position is secured, while their income then is quite sufficient.

If these proposals be approved by the Supreme Government of India, so that they may be established as a rule, I have no doubt Your Excellency and all your successors in office will find great relief thereby, not only by being less troubled with petitions, but also by being able to reduce this unnecessary expense, which is by no means one of the least considerations. Because it is not sufficient that the administration should

be carried on in a suitable manner, as I think is done when it is based on justice and supported by vigilance and care with regard to its safety both within and without, just as it would be necessary on the part of a father of a household or a master; but it also requires economy.

This point is of no less importance than the others. I remarked some time ago that the East India Company is to be looked upon as more than a mere merchant, and therefore should not be limited to mercantile operations. But this does not mean that in some respects it must not be considered as a merchant. Indeed, this is its most important character. For it would be of little use if it gained in power at its own expense. It would not further its interests if the profits made in trade were doubly swallowed up by the government of the place where the trade is carried on. It would also be prejudicial to its interests if the good and desirable products had to be obtained at such expense; for the proverb says that, "Even gold may be bought too dear." The chief point to be considered, therefore, is that the administration is regulated, so that even if no profit be made the Company will at least not lose anything by it.

The profits which must maintain this Government have all been referred to in detail. We must now recapitulate them in a general way, and compare expenditure with income, in order to see how far this Government will be self-supporting. Because it was seen at the last closing of the accounts that even the total profit and revenue amounting to Fl. 1,311,754.1.8, which was but once realized during the whole century of the Company's Government in Ceylon, namely, in the year 1721–1722, was not sufficient to meet the enormous expenditure to which the Company is put. The latter was Fl. 171,003.10.8 in excess of the former. This proves that, however welcome the advantages from trade be, it is most important that the expenditure should be reduced as much as possible.

But to keep to the subject in hand, viz., the profits, I refer to the accounts which are annexed, both of the general Government and of each station in particular, which show the condition of the Company for the period of a full century. The profits made on the opposite coast have been included in those on cotton goods, areca-nut, and elephants; those on cinnamon have been reckoned as a domestic profit, because the article is calculated at a *schelling* (the pound ?), and the peeling does not cost very much. All other profits have been placed under one head, and likewise the country revenues, of which only the rents have been entered separately. It would have taken too much time to mention all the items with regard to each

station. I have therefore dealt with them only in general, leaving it to Your Excellency to study the particulars of these accounts.

The profits on the opposite coast have already been mentioned, and their advantages and disadvantages discussed. The accounts for the last thirty-nine years show an average profit of Fl. 165,600 yearly. It is to be hoped that the same amount will still be derived from these stations, because these accounts were taken over at the time the trade there was still regular and before the fall that occurred later. This may be seen from the accounts for the book-years 1700–1701 and 1701–1702.

The profits from the trade in cotton goods are estimated at Fl. 100,000 yearly. It is true that the average during that period has been only Fl. 56,100, but it has been asserted and proved that by the advancement of the country this amount and even more might be easily reached. I will therefore pass this estimate also here.

The profits from areca-nut have been almost stationary during the whole of that period. The first year it was Fl. 136,700, and the last year Fl. 137,754.5.8, although during many years it was Fl. 200,000. It has been shown already what improvements might yet be effected. It would not, therefore, be expecting too much to estimate this item at Fl. 150,000, considering that some years it has gone up to Fl. 220,000 and Fl. 245,000, and once to even Fl. 283,088.15. The amount I have stated may therefore be taken as the lowest.

The trade in elephants also yields as profit on an average about Fl. 100,000 yearly, and often more; as, for instance, during the year 1710–1711, when it rose to Fl. 229,251.2.8, and 1714–1715 to Fl. 266,907.4, which, however, being extraordinary years, cannot be taken as a basis of calculation, although on the other hand the last increase of prices is indeed worthy of consideration. This in itself will increase the amount by Fl. 20,000, so that we might take as an average the amount received during seven other years apart from the three extraordinary years and before the increase, namely, Fl. 120,000.

To this must be added the profit on cinnamon, which, if all the demands are satisfied, will bring in about Fl. 150,000—an amount which has often been exceeded, although the average for 39 years hardly amounted to Fl. 131,600. This was due to the troubles in the country, which usually affect the cinnamon peeling. We hope such times will not soon recur.

The rents, of which the value has risen considerably during the last few years, although the average did not amount to

more than Fl. 117,200, may be expected to further increase, as stated already. The last amount having been Fl. 159,078, it may be easily estimated at Fl. 160,000.

Lastly must be mentioned the different small items which were drawn all together and amounted to about Fl. 200,000. These also promise an increase rather than a decrease if circumstances are favourable.

The general revenue, also summed up together, and which we will not estimate here according to this extraordinary year, when, on account of the sale of Carretchie and some other accidental profits not coming within the items of regular revenue, it amounted to Fl. 472,716.19, may yet be expected to bring in about Fl. 350,000 a year. During the years 1713–1714 and 1715–1716 it was more than Fl. 300,000, although the average for 39 years was no more than Fl. 262,800. It is to be hoped that by the advancement of the country this item will also increase, and therefore our estimate will not be far wrong, since it is Fl. 122,716 less than the amount received this year. This subject closes the list of the sources of revenue of the Company in this Government.

We will now pass on to the subject of the expenditure, how large it has been during the last few years, and especially how and where it may be reduced.

Great care is, however, needed in this examination. His Excellency Mr. Pielat confesses with very good reason that, although it seemed to him that here and there economy might be practised in the interest of the Company, yet he did not know exactly where and how this was to be done. He received little credit for this ingeniousness. It must not indeed be supposed that everything is to be brought under the head of expenditure which *appears* to be expenditure. If these matters are to be interpreted too strictly, it is possible that among the items which are real expenditure, and ought to remain so, may creep in items which have no place there. To avoid this and other errors it is necessary indeed to gauge and closely examine the particulars relating to the Company's real interests here, and that is by no means an easy matter.

I will, however, endeavour to do this, as far as the knowledge acquired by me during a long residence here will permit, by bringing before you all the specific items as they are stated in the Company's accounts.

The ordinary rations will be the first item to be discussed. From 1701 till 1720 it was always below Fl. 180,000, and during the earlier years even a good deal less, while at present it has gradually risen to Fl. 231,552.2. This proves beyond doubt that reform is necessary in regard to the number of superfluous officers, because the payment for their allowances,

rice, and other rations go to swell this account. It must not, however, be understood that this is the only point in regard to which reform is needed; there must be other unnecessary expenditure which has caused this increase, and it is expected that when the number of officers is reduced, and proper arrangements are made generally, the expenditure on this item may be restored to the former figure of Fl. 180,000.

Under the heading of ordinary expenditure are entered many items which it is difficult to class otherwise; it is therefore difficult to say where economy could be introduced, although here also the expenditure has increased by Fl. 30,000 or 40,000 yearly, compared to what it used to be, since the average for the past years is hardly Fl. 105,600. It seems to me that by careful management the special expenditure in the hospital, the salaries, and the house rent for the Company's servants, the stables, the arsenal, requirements of the officers, and other local expenses which go to make up this account might also be reduced, because when all these items are added up the amount does not go beyond Fl. 110,000.

The extraordinary expenditure is of quite a different nature, although here also are items which it is difficult to classify otherwise. It is difficult, however, to make any calculation, as the amount varies from year to year. My circuits during the last two years have considerably increased this amount, but I hope that the Company will not regret this expenditure. The average expenditure under this head used to be Fl. 25,500, but the last two years it was Fl. 47,000 and 48,000 respectively. I think Fl. 30,000 or Fl. 35,000 would be about correct under this head.

The fortifications and repairs are a source of unavoidable and variable expenditure, according to the work that is being done. It would be a mistake to economize in this matter by putting off necessary works, because greater expenses would be thus incurred later on. How far the late Governor Vuyst* erred in this respect we need not discuss here, but the administration which followed his complained bitterly on this point in their letters of 1729 and 1730. Whether, however, the fact that the Fl. 5,000 or 6,000 by which this charge exceeded in the years 1729 to 1732, the same charge for the years 1726 to 1729, for the whole of this Government, even if it were so spent entirely for effective improvements, is proof that the management has been perfect, is a question which need not be entered upon here. It is only necessary to remark that no

* Governor from 1726 to 1729, in which latter year he was removed from office, arrested, and taken to Batavia, where he was tried for high treason and murder, and executed.

fixed amount can be specified for this charge; but I think that instead of the average of Fl. 22,700 spent in the past years we might take the amount at Fl. 30,000, as we have to fix some amount here.

The equipment of ships and other expenses incurred on account of yachts, hoys, and sloops is a heavy expenditure for this Government, and amounts to more than any of the foregoing items. Its increase is not so much due to the greater amount of traffic here, as to the increased expenditure the Company is put to in general for supplies to various vessels, which, as I have stated already, often transport but very little. The remedy is not to be found merely in the observance of the often repeated instructions from Their Excellencies to practise economy in the issue of goods to passing vessels. However careful one might be, if there are vessels they have to be provided for, and I remember very well the hue and cry there was about too great an economy on the part of the Ceylon Government during the years 1726 to 1729, although the amount then amounted to Fl. 200,000. The average amount over all the years has been no more than Fl. 187,000, but I do not think that this amount would be sufficient now, although this charge for the first few years of this century was only Fl. 150,000, and during the first 26 years only thrice reached the amount of Fl. 200,000, which would prove that it is not impossible to manage with such a sum, since at that time also provision was made for vessels on their way to Batavia or to the Netherlands, and goods were sent to the neighbouring places; while sometimes the expenditure was even so low as Fl. 140,000 or 120,000, and even less than that. But as there is no likelihood of so much economy being practised for some time, I think we ought to consider it satisfactory if the amount remains within Fl. 200,000. During my administration it was only twice near this figure, namely, in the years 1736 and 1738, when it was Fl. 8,000 or 10,000 more, but the other years it was higher.

The salaries, both of the European and the native officers, as well on land as at sea, which are stated here in one account, also show a considerable increase, which is not only due to the superfluous number of officers, to which mention has already been made when speaking of the reduction necessary in regard thereto, but also to an increase of salaries here during my administration, so that this item amounted every year from 1736 to more than Fl. 600,000, and last year it had risen to nearly Fl. 700,000, or Fl. 681,583.16. This is about Fl. 150,000 more than the average for all former years, while for 20 years out of the 39 it remained under the amount stated. This difference may serve as a proof that more care and

economy are necessary in this respect. No objection need be raised, however, to the salaries being paid here, as the Company has to pay them all the same, but care should be taken that no undue salaries are drawn. It would be a mistake to reduce these payments, because it is much more profitable to the Company if they are made here, as otherwise they would have to be paid in Holland. It is therefore well that Their Honours the Directors have in their letter of March 4, 1737, to the Supreme Government of India and Batavia, arranged this matter, so that now the salaries may be drawn at the Pay Office here, which will prevent a considerable amount of confusion

As stated already, a great deal was thus paid during my administration; and I permitted most of those who applied for it to draw their salaries monthly, so that I think not one-tenth of the salaries that were due in this island remain to be paid in Holland. This is a double advantage to the Company, because it thus also secures the profit from the circulation of this money in its Colonies, whose prosperity is in this way increased.

For this reason, and because I am of opinion that the same course may be followed in future, although those who are still under their first engagement ought not, except in special cases, to be allowed to draw their salaries monthly, I think that this item must be estimated at about Fl. 600,000. Under the head of reform in the department of the Company's servants, I think must be included a reduction of the garrison, in which too many Eastern people are employed at present. In this way it may be possible to reduce the amount as much as it has exceeded Fl. 600,000 during the last few years, while little or nothing need be paid at other stations on behalf of the Ceylon Government. For, although His Excellency Governor Becker during his administration reduced this expenditure to Fl. 500,000, I do not think this example of a forced economy is desirable from any point of view, and I would deceive myself and others if I believed that this sum would be sufficient for Ceylon. Should any one disagree with me on this point, I for my part will be satisfied if the said amount of Fl. 600,000 could be made to suffice.

The expenditure on account of presents is one also that cannot be reduced. It is true that one may be too generous, but I, for my part, would rather see this expenditure somewhat increased than reduced, when there is more peace in the country, because economy in this respect might involve the loss of hundreds of thousands of guilders in the loss of profits which might be otherwise obtained.

This expenditure was very small during the first few years, and even less than the average for all the years, which amounts

to Fl. 13,000. I would therefore propose to allow about Fl. 40,000 at the present time, and feel sure that it could not be managed with less than that amount if the interests of the Company are to be well served; although the presents to the Kandyan king, which are about the only ones of any importance in this connection, at the sending of the yearly embassy amount to only about Fl. 10,000. There are, however, also some presents to be made on the opposite coast and in other places. The reason is partly that all expenditure connected with these presents is included in the items, besides the actual cost of the presents themselves; and secondly, because we also have to consider the presents to the courtiers on different occasions, and which cannot be avoided if we wish to preserve friendship with them.

The other items are of little importance, and amount to about Fl. 30,000 in all. They consist mostly of accounts from some of the outstations, which could not be classified with any of the other items.

When we cast up all the various items explained above, it will appear that the expenditure in Ceylon, even allowing something extra for salaries, calculating them at Fl. 200,000 instead of Fl. 180,000 as proposed, and Fl. 120,000 instead of Fl. 110,000 for ordinary expenditure, we get the following result, viz.:—

	Fl.
Rations	200,000
Ordinary expenditure	120,000
Extraordinary expenditure ..	30,000
Fortifications and repairs	30,000
Equipage of ships	200,000
Salaries	600,000
Presentations	40,000
Extra expenditure	30,000
Total ..	1,250,000

This is Fl. 12,500 less than formerly, and that it would be sufficient is proved by the fact that for so many years the expenditure was not more than Fl. 1,000,000, and sometimes even less, and but once in 20 years exceeded that amount and was Fl. 1,100,000, while during seven years it remained under Fl. 1,000,000. The full amount spent during 39 years was only Fl. 1,104,300, which is Fl. 150,000 less than our estimate.

Considering against this expenditure the profits which the Company may derive from trade and from the administration,

and which have been stated already with an explanation of each item, the estimate is as follows, viz. :—

		Fl.
Profits on the opposite coast	..	170,000
Trade in cotton goods in this country	..	100,000
Trade in areca-nut ..	..	150,000
Trade in elephants ..	..	120,000
Profits on cinnamon ..	...	150,000
Farms and rents ..	..	160 000
Other local profits ..	..	200,000
General revenue ..	..	350,000
Total	..	1,400,000

This large sum of one million four hundred thousand guilders could, I believe, be even increased in the course of time when the country improves.

This shows that, instead of there being a deficit on account of the administration, there ought to be a surplus, and that it is neither impossible nor inadvisable to endeavour to make Ceylon self-supporting, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, and however much the 13 years of the 39 that were profitable may be said to have been forced to produce their abnormal returns. Nature itself may be taken as an example when she is weakened by being made to yield by artificial means what she could not do unaided, and although I am myself opposed to such tyranny as that by which it is alleged and it is apparent this profit was gained, or at least part of it, yet the argument itself must not be disregarded. On the contrary, any one who would endeavour to obtain an insight into these matters would agree with me that it is quite practicable to make Ceylon pay its own way, even if it be not possible for it to attain to the grandiloquent title of "*The Great Mainstay of the Dutch Company in India.*"

It is therefore not so much with regard to the matter itself, but rather with a view to the various means by which this object might be attained, that I specified the time of the administration by Mr. Becker as the third period of the government, and at the same time sketched a fourth, of which I wished my rule might form a commencement, and which I hope may long continue.

This fourth period is indeed of much importance, and I hope it will not be too irksome to recapitulate what has been said on the subject.

The original intention was to make of Ceylon a jewel to the Company by obtaining the entire rule of it; but, because of the extreme measures which this demanded, the object could

not possibly be carried out, as the flowers from this garden would have cost the Company as much as the once so famous tulips in Holland. The project itself would not have been so bad, were it not for the spirit of contradiction, mentioned by me in the well-known points which form an appendix to this Memoir, which were at work in this matter, much to the prejudice of the Company.

A second period was thus created, in which the endeavour was made to set matters right in Ceylon by kindness and economy. This plan failed, however, and its trial cost the Company many fair Provinces, which had to be restored before any success could be attained. These the Company might well have retained. The opening of the harbour proved also to be a failure.

Thus a third period was entered upon, in which the harbours were kept rigorously closed, and great vigilance was exercised with regard to all that might endanger the interests of the Company. The ruler of that time had more power in his little finger than all others had had in their whole body, with the result that matters were improved for a time by tyranny. But only as long as it lasted, because after the death of Governor Rumpf the condition became so serious that complications would have arisen for the Company if a new method had not been introduced.

A fourth period was then entered upon, which was to promote the interests of the Company by a real improvement of the country, which not only required the securing of a peaceful and absolute possession of territory, but also the adoption of part of the former principles which, carried to extremes, had disgraced their purpose, but were intended to obtain for the Company the enjoyment of the profits of the country.

The attitude adopted was passive, neither striving after ambitious subjugation of the whole country, as was done during the first period, nor putting such great estimation upon or paying such a high price for the friendship of the native government as was done during the second period, nor endeavouring to bring about by force such results as were produced by unnatural means during the third period, which, combined with additional prejudicial circumstances, were the cause of general decay and loss instead of bringing any advantage. In my opinion the only way to improve matters is to gradually raise the condition of the country in general, which would mean even more than I have stated here, as time perhaps will prove to any one who takes an interest in this subject.

I hope Your Excellency will consider yourself sufficiently informed by what is said in this manuscript, which has been compiled in the usual form employed for such Instructions

with regard to the general administration of the Company's affairs, when the chief ruler gives over the office to his successor.

I might add a few words with regard to some of the most important matters, as is done usually at the end of such documents. But I do not consider it necessary here, partly because the various subjects have been treated of already in our daily conversation, partly because time does not permit me to do so, since my departure has been delayed considerably and the season urges expedition. Otherwise I would give a few brief instructions on the subject of the employment of yachts and other vessels, the stationing of our militia in Mallabaar if this is required for the Company's service, the despatch of articles required for Jaffnapatam, amongst which some articles of trade, and especially pepper if on hand, the sending of 400 bales of cinnamon to Manaar for the Government of Coromandel, the despatch of the required 400 parcels of *Salmpoeris** from the opposite coast to Batavia, half of which, I think, has at present been collected, and which must be sent by the vessels returning at the change of the monsoon, and also a quantity of red cloth for Batavia which is ready at Manaar, as well as the cinnamon which may be left out of the small harvest.

I will therefore conclude by wishing Your Excellency all success in your administration, and hoping that Ceylon under the Company's rule, and the Company in its establishment in the island, may be blessed by Heaven.

I remain, Sir,
Your willing Servant and Friend,
(*Signed*) G. W. VAN IMHOFF.

Colombo, March 12, 1746.

Found correct :
(*Signed*) J. BLOK,
First Sworn Clerk.

Found correct :
(*Signed*) C. VAN DER HEYDEN,
First Sworn Clerk.

* A species of cotton stuff.

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